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West Europe Report

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CASE STUDY OF AGCA ACTIVITIES - I

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CASE STUDY OF AGCA ACTIVITIES - I

Connections Among Individuals Involved

Istanbul AGCA DOSYASI [THE AGCA FILE] in Turkish 1982 pp 7-35

[Case study by Ugur Mumcu]

[Text] Investigations conducted by Italian officials in connection with the plot against the Pope and the Mafia tend to confirm publications by CUMHURİYET newspaper. Publications to the effect that arms smuggling and drug smuggling are interrelated, that Armenians are involved in this smuggling and that Bulgarian companies direct the smuggling traffic are being confirmed by new events and findings. Events are taking on new dimensions with, most recently, the Rome prosecution's issuance of warrants for the arrest of smuggler Bekir Celenk and armed right-wing activist Oral Celik. New light is also cast on the Agca file by the incident involving the Bulgarian Sergei Ivanov Antonov, who was arrested following the statement given by Musa Serdar Celebi, a European leader of the idealists arrested in West Germany at the behest of the Rome prosecution.

We thought it beneficial at this stage of developments to reassess certain implications and the relationships and connections between individuals involved in the events.

--The fact that Bekir Celenk and M. Ali Agca had stayed at the legendary luxury Hotel Vitosha in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia at the same time was revealed in our series entitled "Arms Smuggling Yesterday-Today" on 8 March 1982. This fact, revealed for the first time in our newspaper, also cropped up later in the second statement Agca made to the Rome prosecution. Agca, the son of a poor family from Malatya, stayed in room No 911 at the Hotel Vitosha at a cost of \$120 a day, while Celenk was in room No 1078 at the same hotel. We also reported on 7 May 1982 that Celenk registered at the hotel under the name "Necati Celik" and carried a false passport made out of Kenter Albayrak.

--Celenk is an international shipper, using ships under the flag of "Panama." His ship, the "Benil," ran aground off Paratirant on the island of Minorca near Spain on 18 December 1981 and was put up for sale by the crew in accordance with international agreements. Procedures involving this ship belonging to Bekir Celenk, whose company "Oscar Maritime Inc" is headquartered in London at the address "c/o Honro Shipping B.V., 2d Floor Nr 67-68, 65 London Wall E.C. 2," were handled

in Turkey by Atalay Guler. Atalay Guler works at the "As Ticaret" company, located in the Nuhoglu Building on Yuva Street off Rihtim Avenue in Karakoy, Istanbul. Celenk uses the telephone numbers 895-2278 and 360-3513 in London. Celenk's Spain connection is Meteo Melie Vives in Minorca. Vives' telephone number at the "Angencia Melimar" company is 363053.

--Celenk, who rents an apartment in the Phaleron quarter of the Greek capital city of Athens, had his ship "Celenk" in the port of Piraeus for a long time. He is a partner in a watch factory named "Viyaluks/Villalux" in Switzerland and also a partner of the notorious Turkish smuggler Mehmet Zeki who lives in Switzerland. Mehmet Zeki owns a private airplane and traveled frequently to Turkey prior to 12 September 1980 where he was entertained at dinners given "in his honor" by his friends in Turkey.

--Celenk is also known to have close connections with a Bulgarian official named "Yuvanaovic" in Bulgaria. Celenk, who uses telephone numbers 317882 and 768960 in Sofia, reportedly maintains extensive relations at a very high level in Bulgaria.

--Celenk is also a partner of an Armenian named Samir Aris in Zurich, Switzerland. Samir Aris owns the "Nova Park Hotel" and his telephone number is 4692482/02. This Armenian businessman named Samir Aris, who is Celenk's closest supporter in Europe, was named before in our publication on 7 May 1982.

--Belir Celenk maintains close relations with many people in Turkey and is said to have established commercial relationships with "contract personnel" employed at one of our consulates.

--Celenk is known to have married and divorced many years ago a woman named "Eva," who was the daughter of a mother from the Greek community in Turkey and an Armenian father, and then later to have married Nilufer Kocyigit. He has a very wide circle of contacts in Switzerland. The child from Celenk's first marriage lives in America.

--Information regarding Bekir Celenk's leadership of international smuggling traffic was given openly in the statement made by an arms smuggler named Ibrahim Telemen to Captain Ustun Gunsan, the prosecutor of the Izmir Martial Law Court, in 1972. The statement in Telemen's handwriting, found in file 975/219, suit 974/384 of the Izmir Second High Criminal Court, came to the Istanbul Combined Press Court in connection with the suits brought against our newspaper by TERCUMAN owner Kemal Ilıcak. First it was officially reported that the file could not be located, but it was found later after a search and sent to the court.

--Telemen's 1972 written statement says in regard to Celenk: "They brought in large quantities of guns through Istanbul's Yesilkoy customs shed in mid-1972, thinking they would be transferred to Haydarpasa customs. Their man abroad is Bekir Celenk. He lives in Munich, hardly ever coming to Turkey." Telemen said the brothers Omer and Hasan Nehir were involved with Celenk, and Hasan Nehir was one of the names cited by the Rome prosecution in connection with "Operation Mafia." Information on Hasan Nehir, whose name made the newspapers in connection with the Rome prosecution's investigation, also appeared in our publication on 13 October 1980.

--Following is what Telemen wrote about Hasan Nehir: "The brothers Omer and Hasan Nehir own the Radar and Topkapi Hotels in Beyazit in Istanbul. And they use their hotels as a virtual smugglers' nest. Their hotels are filled year round with Arab and Iranian smugglers. They were caught red-handed in Ankara in early 1971 on my tip-off. It was covered up."

--Bekir Celenk also maintains relations with the famed Syrian brothers Resit and Saban Vezir who live in Sofia. Saban Vezir, born in Aleppo in 1933, the son of Resit and Makbule and the holder of "residence permit" No 25/1323 in Turkey, has twice been deported from Turkey. Vezir obtained a false passport in the name of Ismet Celal Sahin from the Urfa Security Directorate on 18 August 1971, the date of his last deportation. He is known to have been involved in serious smuggling incidents in Turkey. Savotor Kahenka and Mehmet Kocarsian, money changers operating at No 347 Anafartalar Avenue in Izmir, seem to be connected with Saban Vezir. Vezir is the one who ordered \$640,000 worth of arms brought in from Czechoslovakia. This smuggling incident which took place in 1967 was backed by Ali Acmak and Ali Aptik, well-known businessmen in the Samsun area.

Ali Acmak's trail was lost after 12 September 1980, but he is known to have been apprehended later by Istanbul police.

--Saban Vezir's smuggling arm is backed by Beirut jeweler Garbis Mucizyan. The Hungarian man in this smuggling arm is Abdusselam Mennan. Mennan is Syrian.

The Syrian Muhammet Akil Cubukcu and the Armenian Garabet Sarkis Abriyan provide the foreign links in the smuggling ring that includes Huseyin Ugurlu, Mustafa Sabri, Abuzer Ugurlu, Nurettin Ormanci, Hayrettin Yagci, Dogan Yuncuoglu, Fahrettin Soysal, Sefer Bezal and Hacı Mirza. According to the ruling showing cause, ruling 74/28 and suit 974/13, 5 November 1975, of the Istanbul Martial Law Second Court, the father, Huseyin Ugurlu, was acquitted and the others were awarded various sentences. And the case came under amnesty law. This gang, which included an Armenian, smuggled 70,031 guns of various makes and 27,601,000 rounds of ammunition into Turkey between 1966 and 1973.

--An Armenian named Cemsit Sakuyan heads the arms smuggling traffic in Sofia. Sakuyan, of Iranian origin, has two close Turkish friends, Selahattin Guvensoy and Fikri Kocakerim. Guvensoy and Kocakerim are wanted by Turkish police. Both are known to be in Sofia.

--Arms seized near the Greek island of Kalymnos on 6 September 1972 were understood to be destined for Turkey. Another Beirut businessman by the name of Salim Medlis was involved in this incident. Arms seized in Athens on 5 February 1971 were also packed for shipment to Turkey.

--The ship "Vasoula" sailing under Cypriot colors that was seized in the Bosphorus on 30 May 1977 was skippered by Greek captains, one of whom was named Mantikas. In addition to D. Mantikas, there were L. Kumucelis, Ne. Neofito, A. Hristoforo, D. Druilas and K. Lavitti. As understood from court decisions 1978/245 and 1978/8-189 of 19 June 1978 filed by the Supreme Court of Appeals' criminal division, 495 rocket launchers and 10,000 missiles were shipped from the Bulgarian port of Burgas by the Bulgarian Kintex company. This documented incident shows that Greek as well as Armenian smugglers are involved in the arms traffic to Turkey.

--Another incident involving Greek smugglers also had a Bulgarian connection. The Turkish smuggler Muhlis Unal, whose Sofia telephone number is 501412, arranged for the Greek ship "Stole Soralis" to sail from the port of Varna. The ship departed for Sinop's Port Ak in July 1979. The go-between was a Greek sailor. His name was Islavi Hristo.

--Another incident involving Armenian firms was first referred to in the press by Ufuk Guldemir in CUMHURİYET newspaper. It was discovered that the "Overco" company, headquartered in the Netherlands, was sending guns into Turkey by the thousands. The owner of the firm was V. O. Koyluyan. The buyer on the bills of lading was an Armenian in Kuwait named Mansur Mikail. The money for these goods came from a Lebanese Armenian. The firm shipping the guns was Middle East Shipping, whose director is Nejat Soyler. Soyler is presently in jail. He is said to have revealed interesting names. The other firm associated with Overco is the Turkish firm, Yavuz Shipping.... The owner of Yavuz Shipping is the 27 May revolutionary Orhan Erkanli. Erkanli supposedly sold his vehicles to the Karagulle's of Gaziantep on 26 September 1978. The owner of the vehicles according to the records is Mehmet Karagulle. The "Overco" firm caused a stir among public opinion in the Turkish sector of Cyprus at one time also. An investigation was launched into this matter. Certain prominent Cypriots were implicated so... it was hushed up.

--Celenk opened a firm named "Thrace Import-Export" at 70-71 Nyshenburger Street in Munich on 14 June 1982. His partner was a Turk named Atalay Saral. This firm is said to employ certain right-wing Turks.

--Osman Imamoglu, a smuggling suspect known as "Cayirova Osman," revealed to the military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command that "a person named Yilma Durak met and talked with him at the Kilim Restaurant in Aksaray in 1979 and he began selling guns to the Idealist sector upon Yilma Durak's suggestion." Yilma Durak is a founding partner of a company called "Tumpas." Another partner in this company is Musa Serdar Celebi. Celebi is president of the Idealist Turkish Associations in Europe. Two who preceded him as president of the organization were killed, one was hurt. Celebi is wanted by Turkish authorities. He publishes a magazine named YENI HEDEF [NEW TARGET] in Germany.

--Cayirova Osman, who sold guns to Yilma Durak, the business partner of Musa Serdar Celebi who was arrested in Germany at the request of the Rome prosecution, is being held for trial in Ankara in the same case with Abuzer Ugurlu, the smuggler named in Agca's second statement to the Rome prosecution.

Musa Serdar Celebi and Turkes

Musa Serdar Celebi is a leader of the idealist organizations in Europe. The "European Federation of Democratic Idealist Associations" was established in Frankfurt in June 1978. The first general chairman of this federation, comprised of 65 idealist organizations, was Lokman Kundakci. Celebi inherited the federation chairmanship from Kundakci. The money collected was deposited to NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes' now-closed PFG (Bank fuer Gemeinwirtschaft-Biz 37010111.5 Cologne - 50) [as published] account in Cologne. Necati Uygur and Halil Tireli, chairmen of the "NAP Southern Germany Executive Council,"

later took over chairmanship of the Federation. Uygur and Tireli were both killed, one after the other. The reason for their deaths was never quite clear. Federation founder Kundakci had severed ties with these circles. He encountered an armed attack some time later and sustained serious injuries, but survived.

It is useful, we think, to summarize Musa Serdar Celebi's political relationships.

--Musa Serdar Celebi is one of the persons named in the Ankara Martial Law Military Prosecution's indictment of the "NAP and Idealist Organizations." Celebi started out in public service in 1976 in the Office of the Istanbul Regional Chairman of the Undersecretariat for Land and Agricultural Reform, but left after a time and went to the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies. The NAP indictment records (on page 480, annex 155) that film maker Berker Inanoglu gave Serdar Celebi 100,000 liras. It was discovered that Celebi had sent money at designated intervals to NAP General Chairman Alparslan Turkes' account at the Ankara Bahcelievler branch of the Agricultural Bank.

--Celebi was a founder of "Tumpas Consumer Goods Production, Marketing and Shipping, Inc in which, according to the articles of agreement approved under number 2024 on 15 January 1980 by the Istanbul 13th Notary Public, the following were partners: Musa Serdar Celebi, Yilma Durak, Atilla Ozler, Mehmet Sandir and Abdullah Kilic. The company formed, through Celebi's efforts, another company named "Donault" in Frankfurt and Turkes was informed in this regard.

--The statements of worth of Tumpas Company founders Serdar Celebi, Yilma Durak and Abdullah Kilic were found at NAP headquarters. Another of the company's founders, Mehmet Sandir, was an NAP trainer for the Istanbul region and at the same time seems to have been a reporter for the newspaper HERGUN. Sandir was an active agent who collected funds from individuals and organizations. The following names appear in the NAP indictment among those from whom Sandir collected money: Yahya Dag, Niyazi Adiguzel, Omer Boyar, Nejat Bey, D. Kilic, Hilmi Perek, Mete Has, Lokman Kundakci, MISK [Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions], Mehmet Erzen [it has not yet been determined whether this person is Mehmet Zeki Erzen; when this is clarified, many other matters will be automatically cleared up), Ali Baysal, A. Sahir Meric, M. Ali Erdinc and Nejat Koseoglu.

--Sandir was appointed comptroller of the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies in 1977 and, together with Turkes and his Tumpas partner Yilma Durak, became a founder of the "Historical and Islamic Research Foundation." Other founders: Gun Sazak, A. Sahir Meric, Guven Sazak and Mehmet Dogan.

--Musa Serdar Celebi's partner Sandir deposited, on 28 September 1979, 400,000 Turkish liras into account No 7884 which Turkes had opened at the Ankara Kavaklidere branch of the Ak Bank. Both Cemebi's and Sandir's monetary links to the NAP have been documented.

--The person who deposited a total of 892,000 Turkish liras into Mehmet Sandir's account bearing the numbers 66242 and 00-9959-8 at the Samsun branch of the Turkish Real Estate Credit Bank between the dates of 11 March 1980 [as published] was Sami Bal, a former general chairman of the Idealist Hearths Associations.

Bal was convicted in suit 1974/133, 5 November 1974, of the Ankara Third High Criminal Court in the death of a student named Nail Karacam at the Ankara Faculty of Science and was sentenced under verdict 1974/557 to 12 years in the penitentiary. He was later released under the Amnesty Law and became chairman of the Idealist Hearths Associations after that date. Bal taught chemistry at the Ataturk Teachers' School in Ankara and was later appointed comptroller of the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies.

--Musa Serdar Celebi called a press conference in West Germany after the attempt on the Pope's life to deny any connections with Agca and after he made these revelations about his close circle and relationships, [as published] let us make a brief reference to the magazine YENI HEDEF, of which Celebi seemed to be the owner: YENI HEDEF began publishing in 1981. Its address was "Gutleut Street 178-6000 Frankfurt/m." Its telephone number was (0611) 236255. This magazine dealt chiefly with the NAP cause and printed articles attacking, primarily, certain martial law commanders, military prosecutors, former ministers and writers.

--A close working colleague of M. Serdar Celebi's was Enver Altayli, general editor of HERGUN newspaper. Altayli, who had been expelled from the War Academy following the 21 May incidents, attended the Ankara Faculty of Law, after which he took a job at a top firm. Altayli is wanted in Turkey in connection with the NAP proceedings and is thought to be in Germany. As NAP West German inspector, Altayli was a party operative with extensive financial relationships with Turkes.

--We have no way of knowing at this stage how cooperation between M. Sedar Celebi and Agca came about. The links between Agca and Antonov are in total darkness. Agca is known in Turkey as an armed right-wing militant. All of his ties were with the right. All of those who engineered his escape from prison and concealment in Turkey were of the right. It would seem natural for a person with this background to establish ties with the idealists after fleeing the country.

--Arms smuggled from Bulgaria were sold to right-wing armed activists as well as to left-wing armed activists, as revealed by the Cayirova Osman-Yilma Durak connection. Once the connection between smugglers and terrorists is established at this level, it is difficult to tell how far they will go from there. The source of the Celebi-Antonov connection is not known. The smuggler-terrorist connection is an open door to all kinds of links of this type.

--Oral Celik, whose arrest warrant was issued by the Rome prosecution along with that of Bekir Celenk, is a prominent name in the armed right. Istanbul police believe Oral Celik had a key role in the murder of MILLIYET editor Abdi Ipekci by Agca. According to some evidence, the bullet that killed Ipekci came from Celik's gun, not Agca's. Ipekci was shot in February 1979. Agca was captured--after a tip-off by an unidentified person--long after the incident in a coffee house frequented by the right in Istanbul. The trail of Mehmet Sener and Oral Celik, who were implicated in the incident, was lost after Afca was arrested. A ballistic test could not be run since the gun used in the murder was never found. Sener and Celik fled the country. Oral Celik has still not been

found; Mehmet Sener was arrested in Switzerland by coincidence. Sener is jailed in Switzerland since procedures for his extradition have not been completed. With Oral Celik still at large and Mehmet Sener unavailable for questioning in Turkey, the "Ipekci murder" is still left in the dark.

--Agca had the following addresses on him the day he was arrested: "Ahmet Tekin Dogantas, 65 Senerer Street 10, Berlin." "Veysel Aydin, Akaba Bookstore" was written on a piece of paper in addition to this address. Another written address was "John Street 4, Dusseldorf 20," with the telephone number "211-378804" at the same place. Then there was another address: "Halil Ibrahim, Tuzcular Avenue, Demirkapi, Serferaga Industrial Complex, Koseogullari Kebab Restaurant 294." Also, these telephone numbers of a dried fruit dealer named Kemal Ozbay in Malatya: "1493, 2596, 3976."

--In his statement to the Rome prosecution, Agca spoke of Teslim Tore. Teslim Tore is an armed left-wing activist wanted by Turkish police ever since 12 March 1971. Agca spoke in his first statement of a left-wing student from Malatya named Sedat Sirri Kadem and of some left-wing and right-wing factions abroad. Sirri Kadem has disappeared. Halit Narin, president of the Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions, the "Casino King" Fahrettin Arslan and Mehmet Nabi Inciler, also known as "Inci Baba," were also named in Agca's same statement.

--Agca said he had met a person named Omer Mersan while he was staying at the Hotel Vitosha in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia and this person had obtained a false passport for him. The passport was issued by the Nevsehir governor's office on 11 August 1980. Agca's passport was in the name of "Faruk Ozgun." It is the passport that was confiscated from Agca following the attempt on the Pope's life. The passport bears the number "136635." The next passport is number "136636" and it was issued in the name of "Galip Yilmaz." This passport was found on Omer Ay, who is known to be Agca's accomplice, a right-wing armed activist recently extradited to Turkey.

--The Rome High Criminal Court's ruling showing cause No "39/81-46/81" of 22 July 1981 in reference to Agca offers some interesting findings. Agca stayed at the Pensione Isa on Chichereni Avenue prior to the attempted assassination of the Pope and his room there was reserved "by someone who spoke Italian fluently." Agca stayed in many hotels in Italy. He held long telephone conversations from one of these hotels with the known "idealists" Behlul Taskin and Hasan Taskin in the town of Sarstedt-Hildesheim in Germany. Agca also called the numbers 89-530480 and 530489 and 531070 in Munich, the numbers of the "Vardar" company owned by Selami Gultas. The interesting aspect is that Omer Mersan, who obtained Agca's passport for him, worked for the Vardar Company.

--Another interesting aspect is this: The Rome High Criminal Court's ruling records that the "Browning" gun Agca used in the attempt on the Pope's life had been purchased by an engineer, Tinter Otto, on behalf of the "Grillmayer Horst" [as published] firm after it came from the factory in Belgium. The court ruling asserts that Grillmayer Horst "comes from a family in which Nazism ran strong" and reveals that Horst's trail had been lost as soon as the investigations began. Grillmayer was arrested in Austria in January 1983.

Arslanyan and Aris

Oral Celik is believed to have been instrumental in arranging the plot against the Pope. The Rome prosecution believes it was Oral Celik who obtained the guns from Horst Grillmayer [as published] and passed them on to Agca. Oral Celik also seems to have been instrumental in the Ipekci murder. And there is the theory, not yet proved, that Ipekci was killed by Oral Celik's bullets. Was it Agca or Celik who shot Ipekci? We don't know; but we do know that Oral Celik is involved.

The Agca-Celik connection appears in another incident also--in Agca's escape from prison. It was an organization that engineered Agca's escape from the Kartal-Maltepe Military Prison where he was being held. A soldier on duty at the prison from which Agca was spirited away on 23 December 1979, Bunyamin Yilmaz, set up the link between Agca and Oral Celik and Mehmet Tanaydin. It took place after the escape. Agca met with Oral Celik the day he escaped. Oral Celik engineered the escape and concealment. Agca is a kind of strike force. Oral Celik points the gun. Agca is the front, Celik behind the scene.

--It is not clear at this stage when Oral Celik left the country or where he met with Agca. Celik is thought to have gone to West Germany. It is not yet known what kind of statement Musa Serdar Celebi has made. But events have been developing since Celebi's statement.

--Oral Celik assumed the most important tasks in both the Ipekci murder and Agca's escape from prison. In all probability, he also had a hand in the Pope incident. Bunyamin Yilmaz, the soldier involved in the escape, has been imprisoned for 18 years. Mehmet Tanaydin got 4 years, 6 months and the brothers Ramazan and Rasim Gurbuz got 3 years each. Captain Cetin Cubukcu, Captain Necmi Kose, Junior Officer Enver Asir, Junior Officer Yusuf Hududi, Ali Tikkin and Mustafa Yuksekgonul who were tried in the same case were all acquitted. Oral Celik, meanwhile, cannot be found.

--Oral Celik is also wanted in connection with Agca's flight to Iran with the help of idealist Timur Selcuk after his escape from prison. "Inci Baba" is also implicated in this incident.

--Mehmet Sener, Agca's accomplice in the Ipekci murder, fled the country as soon as Agca was arrested and wandered about Europe until his arrest in Switzerland. In all probability Oral Celik, Mehmet Sener and Agca got together in Europe. Did Musa Serdar Celebi have any part, play any role in these meetings? It is now known at this stage, but Oral Celik's name came up after Celebi's questioning. This would indicate that such a possibility exists.

And Mahmut Inan

--...The Mahmut Inan who gave Mehmet Sener money in Switzerland. Inan is a businessman. He conducts his business in Switzerland. What his business is, is uncertain. We do not know what his business is. Mahmut Inan may be a respectable businessman. In that case, one must ask why he gave money to Mehmet Sener. If not, if he is someone whose business involves smuggling, then this connection becomes fully significant.

Celenk-Celik Connection

--The connection between Bekir Celenk and Oral Celik is not known at this point. Why, one wonders, did the Rome prosecution issue warrants for Celik and Celenk at the same time? Does Oral Celik work at one of Celenk's firms? Doubtless he could not be working under his own name, but using an alias. If so, this is important. This is what should be investigated at present. This and the identity of Mahmut Inan. Who is this Mahmut Inan?

And Two Armenians

--Henry Arslanyan works with Samir Aris. Samir Aris is Bekir Celenk's number-one man. It is necessary to look into who works at Samir Aris' Nova Hotel in Zurich. This has not yet been done; they are unidentified. Many things depend on the statements by Musa Serdar Celebi and Mehmet Sener. Sener is being held in Switzerland, not yet extradited to Turkey. The knot will be unraveled to an extent by Sener's statement--he is involved in both the Ipekci murder and Agca's escape abroad.

--Bekir Celenk uses a number of passports abroad. One, in his own name, is passport number TR-E-337457. The passport he uses in Bulgaria is in the name "Necati Celik." Another passport is in the name "Kenter Albayrak." Kenter Albayrak is not an "imaginary name." Albayrak is known to have been involved in a smuggling incident in Yugoslavia. Turkish police have written to the Yugoslav authorities about this, but have not yet received a reply.

Sofia-Hotel Vitosha

--...Omer Mersan, the one who provided Agca's passport--the rendezvous was the Hotel Vitosha in Sofia. Mersan works for a company named Vardar in Germany. The passport was issued by the Nevsehir governor's office. Nevsehir was at that time under the control of armed right-wing militants. It was the headquarters of the idealist organizations. Two passports, numbered in series, were obtained the same day in this city for Agca and Omer Ay. Agca's passport was immediately sent to Bulgaria. Bekir Celenk was in the same hotel while these events were in progress. This is an interesting coincidence.

Hasan Nehir

--Hasan Nehir was named in another investigation conducted by the Rome prosecution. Hasan Nehir was one of the smugglers named by the smuggler Ibrahim Telemen. Nehir is from Gaziantep. He is friendly with the well-known Havar family of Gaziantep. Nehir is linked to Celenk.

--Huseyin Cil, wanted by the Rome prosecution along with Hasan Nehir, is another whose name is recognized. Indeed, this name is even known to the CUMHURİYET reader. This Huseyin Cil was named in our series "Arms Smuggling Yesterday-Today." Huseyin Cil is named together with Esref Cil and Cevdet Cil in report No 388/80 a. 148/6 1980 from the Interpol General Secretariat, Cil is an intimate of the Beyoglu crowd in Istanbul.

--Nehir and Cil have been in detention for 6 or 7 months. The Nehir's and the Cil's are well-known names in the underworld. The incident involving the Nehir's which Telemen said was "hushed up" is on record in Ankara in suit 970/394 of the Altindag High Criminal Court. The Nehir's were acquitted in this case. However, it was Ibrahim and Cemal Nehir who were tried, not Hasan Nehir, and Amhet Kercancioglu, the driver of truck No 50 AC 443, was convicted in the incident involving 534 kilograms of hashish. Also, M. Dursun Yuksel.

Certain Armenians and Their Connections

--Events are developing with a logic of their own. Bekir Celenk's partner Samir Aris works with Henry Arslanyan in Italy. Arslanyan is Armenian. The biggest smuggling ring in Italy is linked to Arslanyan. Arslanyan works with Samir Aris and Samir Aris works in turn with Bekir Celenk. Bekir Celenk is Mehmet Zeki's partner. Mehmet Zeki has highly influential friends in Turkey.

This Henry is in all probability the Henry we spoke of in "Arms Smuggling Yesterday-Today" on 12 March 1982. There were no clues at that time to the Henry who was involved with Ali Acmak of Samsun, only presentiments. We had "definite intelligence" that the smuggling was headed by an Armenian businessman, but we could not document it at that stage. We had the feeling, but no documents. The name "Henry" is heard often in smuggling contexts. We did some research, wondering if it was a nickname. The name "Henry" is always there where smugglers involving Italy and Bulgaria are concerned. Indications are steadily piling up that "Henry" is Henry Arslanyan.

Henry and Ali Acmak

--The Ali Acmak connected with Henry is, as we mentioned earlier, a businessman who runs the smuggling around Samsun. He has a very extensive circle of acquaintances in the Black Sea area, hovering in the circle of bureaucrats and politicians. Acmak has also been associated with the notorious Syrian smuggler Saban Vezir. The Vezir-Acmak partnership was in coffee smuggling, the year was 1976, and let us give the extent and date of it, too: 30 tons of coffee was seized at sea off Kefken on 3 August. Saban Vezir lives in Bulgaria. Henry Arslanyan's wife is a Bulgarian. Ali Acmak is a powerful smuggler in Turkey.

Unye High Criminal Court

--The file in suit 1981/78 of the Unye First High Criminal Court contains unforgettable documentation of the Mafia-terrorism connection. Ali Acmak, whom we introduced briefly, was tried in that case along with Sakir Babuc, the former NAP chairman for Sungurlu District. Both were charged with mass smuggling. Ali Acmak, Italian Henry's Turkish connection, was in partnership with the NAP Sungurlu District chairman.

Now look what happened next: Guns arrived on an Italian ship. That was in 1979. The guns were unloaded at Ayancik by Haydar from Boyabat. Next, they were turned over to Ziya Cicek from Samsun. NAP-member Sakir Babuc sold the guns to Sami Karamanoglu, known as "King Sami," in Ordu. "King Sami," the famous smuggler

who died a few years ago while testing a bullet-proof vest, passed these guns on to Tevfik Bayir and Ismail Celik in Fatsa. Fatsa was at that time under the control of the left-wing splinter group called DEV-YOL [Revolutionary Way]. NAP District Chairman Babuc sold guns in a region under DEV-YOL control. The guns came from Bulgaria. This is all very interesting. Guns from Bulgaria are sold by means of a member of the NAP in Fatsa, which is under DEV-YOL control.

Chain Extends to Antonov

--The Henry-Ali Acmak, Acmak-NAP Babuc, Babuc-DEV-YOL chain is very interesting. One end of the chain is in Bulgaria. The ship that carried the guns is Italian. This all goes to prove that everyone in the terrorism markets enters into the most astounding relationships. The connection between Musa Serdar Celebi, idealist, and Ivanov Antonov, Bulgarian citizen, becomes possible from this standpoint. An Armenian brings guns from a socialist country; a businessman buys these guns; these guns pass into the hands of terrorists in a district under DEV-YOL control through a member of the NAP. In such a world, everybody is involved with everybody else. Anything can happen.

Italian Connection and Telephones

--The Italian connection in the arms smuggling came to light in a smuggling incident planned by the ubiquitous Ibrahim Telemen and a German, Gunther Bock. The court record for 28 April 1976 in suit 976/9 of the Izmir State Security Court contains evidence that the smuggling of these guns, via Italy, was planned in Venice. The court subpoenaed Post, Telephone and Telegraph Administration [records]. In return, it was discovered that telephone No 45 31 41 in Istanbul called Venice telephone No 85394 on 18 July 1975 in connection with arms smuggling and talked with persons named "Nedim" and "Misvel" on other days. These telephone numbers can be used even today for clarifying information. Who had telephone No 43 35 41 [as published] at that time? The Turkish police can find this out. And Italian police can find out in whose name Venice telephone No 85394 was registered.

Heroin and Arms

--Turkey is an opium-producing country. A substance called "acetic anhydride" is all that is needed to convert opium into heroin. This substance is produced by the industrialized nations. Produced in countries such as the United States, Japan, West Germany and France, acetic anhydride is brought into our country clandestinely. The traffic goes like this: Acetic anhydride comes from abroad. The ones who bring it are multinational secret smuggling organizations. Opium, cultivated illicitly, is processed with the acetic anhydride and heroin is obtained. This heroin is sold in Europe and America in exchange for guns. The final stop, the consumer, is America.

--The Italian smuggler Arslanyan becomes important here. One arm of the smuggling network is in the countries that produce acetic anhydride, another in the opium-producing countries. Another arm is in the arms-producing countries. The exchange is made by the Mafia. As long as terrorism exists in Turkey, they are making money. The godfathers are kind of marketing experts for their arms

monopoly. They know better than anyone how the terrorism market is formed and how it develops. The more terrorism increases, the more they earn. The more terrorism spreads, the more they flourish.

--Arms smuggling goes hand-in-hand with drug smuggling. The most concrete proof of this was offered in the guerrilla raid on the Egyptian embassy in Ankara in 1979. Omer Faruk Erden, who supplied the guns for the guerrillas, was also a drug dealer. The file of suit 980/114 of the Ankara First High Criminal Court contains interesting implications.

--Some of the 300,000 Armenians in the diaspora following the Lebanese Civil War in 1975 went into the drug trade. Marseilles in France is one of the world's drug capitals. Many Armenians have been arrested in Canada and Switzerland on charges of exchanging guns for drugs.

--Terrorism began an awesome spiral in Turkey after 1975. And an interesting coincidence is that many Armenians played a role in gun smuggling incidents. Take Mucuzyan, take Koyluyan, take Abriyan, take Henry Arslanyan and Bekir Celenk's "old friend" Samir Aris.

A CIA Operative: Ruzi Nazar

Public opinion is not yet sufficiently aware of the Oral Celik-Mehmet Ali Agca connection. In order to trace this relationship, it is necessary to go to Malatya, to Hekimhan District in Malatya. Agca and Celik are both from Hekimhan. How well did they know the Kilis native Bekir Celenk? Did they know each other in Turkey? We do not know. But they did meet later. They met at the Hotel Vitosha in Sofia in 1980.

--Oral Celik is the man who guided Agca. He handled the Ipekci murder on 1 February 1979. Celik was at the site, but his name was not heard. Celik made his real impact in Malatya where he was implicated in another murder 3 months after the Ipekci murder. On 7 May 1979, Nevzat Yildirim, a philosophy student at the Malatya Gazi Lycee, was killed by Oral Celik directly in front of the Pertek Drugstore on Kislâ Avenue in Malatya. A teacher, Mustafa Cankurt, was injured in the same incident. Oral Celik managed to escape. He has been at large ever since. His name is everywhere, but he is not. He knows better than anyone else about the escape, the concealment, the spiriting away. An investigation in connection with Oral Celik began proceedings with suit 1980/5125, 1980/1216 on 17 February 1981 by the Elazig Martial Law Military Prosecutor. But Oral Celik was not there. Oral Celik was in West Germany. He hid out after the Ipekci murder and got Agca out of prison first and then out of Turkey. The latest theory, from the Rome prosecution, is that Celik was there during the Pope incident, too. But it is still his name, not him. His name goes hand-in-hand with Bekir Celenk.

--Agca had the false passport in the name of "Faruk Ozgun" brought to Room 911 at the Hotel Vitosha in Sofia by Omer Mersan. The passport originated in Nevsehir, a town under control of the idealists, and ended up in Agca's hands. Agca had used a different passport earlier. That one was issued to "Hamit Gokenc." Hamit Gokenc is a primary school teacher registered in the central Malatya

district of Yamac. The teacher Gokenc obtained his passport No 248711 from the Malatya Security Directorate on 5 February 1980 and gave it to Agca. Agca first left the country on this passport.

--Agca was in Malatya at the time Oral Celik murdered the philosophy student Nevzat Yildirim. They were, in all probability, together. Agca was giving seminars at the idealist club at that time, and on an interesting topic: "Strategy of the Idealist Movement." No one knew Agca's name at that time. Oral Celik's name, however, was familiar in Malatya. Agca and Celik moved in the same circles. Oral Celik had greater impact than Agca. Agca had not yet proved himself among idealists at that time. His friends--those whom we interviewed, anyway--say that Agca was shy and not good with guns. Oral Celik, though, was skilled in that area. He always hit his target. He was used to giving orders. His authority was full and firm. The year 1979 was the year for Agca to prove himself to the idealists. He did, Celik gave the order. Agca followed it.

--On 30 November 1979, the newspaper AYDINLIK carried photographs of Agca taken with his idealist colleagues in Malatya. Standing beside Agca are Hanefi Gurun, former Idealist Youth Association [UGD] President Mesut Samanli, Malatya UGD President Yasar Bozkurt and Economics Faculty student Hulusi Saral. Saral was very close to Agca. More than close. They were together in Istanbul.

--Investigations and research have given scant attention to Agca's Malatya connections. This is too bad. Very interesting names pop up. Very interesting coincidences occur. For instance, Oral Celik was active in the Malatya incidents. Agca had a group of friends in Malatya. His idealist friends were in Malatya. Consider another name: Mehmet Tanaydin. Tanaydin was born in 1953; his father was Ibrahim. The military prosecution deemed it unnecessary to bring suit against Tanaydin in connection with the Malatya incidents. Apparently there was no evidence. We have explained already that it was Oral Celik who planned Agca's escape. And another name involved in the escape was Mehmet Tanaydin. Tanaydin got 4 years, 6 months for the escape. We do not know if it is a case of "similar names," but the Mehmet Tanaydin who was ruled to have no grounds for prosecution in the Malatya incidents was the son of Ibrahim. The Mehmet Tanaydin who was involved in the prison escape under Oral Celik's orders was also the son of Ibrahim. The birth dates match. Both were born in 1953. But their places of registration are different.

Antonov

--Similarity of names is interesting: The Bulgarian arrested for alleged involvement in the Pope incident was Sergei Ivanov Antonov. Another Bulgarian, who has lived in Turkey, is Antony Ivanov Antonov. Is it a case of like names? We do not know, or rather, we cannot find out. We do not have the resources to find out. "Ivanov" and "Antonov" are common names in Bulgaria. In all probability this is a case of like names. But we still say it should be checked out. It must be. How? The Bulgarian embassy in Turkey could issue a clarification, for instance. It could say where the Ivanov Antonov who worked in Turkey is now, how many years he stayed in Turkey, where he worked, on what date he left Turkey and whether he is related to the Ivanov Antonov in Rome. Such a clarification is needed at this stage. Right away, now, today.

--We are recording all this minutiae in order to elucidate the Oral Celik-Agca connection. Everything is here, as far as our research could take us; what we have been unable to discover, we have noted as well in order that many others, individuals and officials, might pursue it. We are trying in this way to determine the facts through open intelligence. Oral Celik is the man who guided Agca. Of that we have no doubt. Agca named Bekir Celenk in his second statement to the Rome prosecution. Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu. These are the statements of an accused person. Their legal value, certainly, is not like a "final judgment," but clearly the extent of their truth or falsity ought to be investigated. Bekir Celenk is the Armenian Samir Aris' partner. Mehmet Zeki is Celenk's side-kick. Samir Aris is the Armenian Henry Arslanyan's partner. The smuggling chain is most interesting and leads off in most ominous directions. It is for this reason that we are probing every lead, every implication.

--We have considered Agca's right-wing relationships. The jailed Musa Serdar Celebi had documented monetary relationships with NAP leader Turkes and his bank accounts as well as political relationships. Was he or was he not involved in the Pope incident? We cannot say for sure at present. At present, there are certain findings regarding him that require his detention, and he has been detained. He may be proved innocent in the future and released. He has not been convicted at this stage, but accused. We have no final judgment on Celebi. Was he involved or wasn't he? Time will tell. We are only trying to lay out his relationships...relationships he will not deny himself.

--In summary: Musa Serdar Celebi is a key man in the idealist sphere. Enver Altayli is his close companion. Altayli was expelled from the War Academy after the 21 May events and went to the Faculty of Law. He later entered a sensitive government service. It would be worth investigating which public institution he worked in and through whom he got the job. It is necessary to probe these relationships from the standpoint of understanding how the right wing was organized in the public institutions...both necessary and useful. Altayli and Celebi are wanted by the Ankara Martial Law Command. Both are in West Germany. One is under arrest, the other is at large. Is he guilty? No one knows, but it is being investigated.

--We have spoken many times before of an American official named Ruzi Nazar. A native of Turkistan, he joined the U.S. Army during World War II while a Soviet military officer. His wife is a Bavarian German. Ruzi Nazar was in Turkey for a long time in an official American position. Everyone on the diplomatic cocktail circuit prior to 12 March knew Ruzi Nazar. Nazar gave cocktail parties in his home in Behcelievler in Ankara and invited a wide range of individuals to them. Everyone knew who he was and what he did. Ruzi Nazar suddenly disappeared at the time of 12 March.

Ruzi Nazar-Turkes

--Ruzi Nazar made friends with many people in Turkey. He spoke fluent Turkish. He was likeable, he knew everybody. He also made friends with NAP General Chairman Turkes. Indeed, he even arranged for one of Turkes' daughters to get

a job with an American airline company. He was a good friend. Nor did he sever his friendship with Turkes after he left the country, neither with Turkes nor Turkes' close circle. He wrote of these relationships occasionally in our "Gozlem" column, trying to explain this friendship between the lines.

--We asked if there was documentation of this relationship. There was. We would not have asked the question otherwise. Actually, there is documentation of everything we wrote about. Documentation of the Turkes-Ruzi Nazar relationship is in the NAP file, in folder No 106. Seek and ye shall find. The letter in preliminary annex No 541 was written from the address "Hauptstrasse 28.5000 Cologne, 50." The letter is from Enver Altayli. The letter is dated 7 April 1976. The letter was sent to Turkes' address at 3/3 Kader Street, Gaziosmanpasa, Ankara.

--The letter begins, "Saygideger buyugum [My esteemed chief]." It says in one place that "Ruzi Bey" had asked when Turkes was coming to Germany. This is not all. Another letter further explains this relationship. Another letter from Enver Altayli says that he had talked with Ruzi Nazar and that Nazar "has promised to get a few articles published against Ecevit and the communists (Annex 508)." It seems Nazar arranged for an interview between Altayli and a reporter named Herr Spiegel from the newspaper DIE WELT. Ruzi Nazar holds an official American position. What does he have to do with Altayli? And why is he interested in the NAP? Is it a personal friendship? We don't know. Ruzi Nazar's relationship with Turkes may be entirely at the personal friendship level. The fact that Ruzi Nazar holds an official American position does not prove that every step he takes is in the line of duty. But what does Ruzi Nazar have to do with the party and the party's propaganda and counter-propaganda in Germany? What is the purpose of this interest? These connections are there, though. There in personal letters, there in documents in the case file. Anyone interested in Ruzi Nazar's status in Turkey can do whatever research they wish. How many years was Nazar in Turkey, who were the people with whom he associated in his official capacity? There are many who know the answers to these questions. If we were to open the Ruzi Nazar file, a great many people could talk about it. The events we noted over the years could be laid out one by one. Ruzi Nazar was in West Germany for 10 years. What was he doing there? He established relationships, in whatever capacity, with diplomatic circles and the press. Those who attach everything he does to the American and Soviet secret services may be right. There are some who think so. We do not think so. We are not judging events by any biased ideological conditioning or stereotyped notions. What we are presenting, or trying to present, is evidence, not assumptions.

--What does all of this have to do with the Pope incident? Nothing. It has to do with Musa Serdar Celebi. It has to do with the people "selected as the target" in Celebi's magazine YENI HEDEF--certain generals, military prosecutors, newspapermen, former politicians--which is to say, with the meaning behind each attack. Enver Altayli is wanted by the Ankara Martial Law Command. Ruzi Nazar knows where he is. Ruzi Nazar is an American operative. He has never denied it. Altayli is a close friend of Celebi's. They were everywhere together from the press conferences in Bonn until recently. So Ruzi Nazar knows him, too, and knows a lot

of other things. Perhaps Musa Serdar Celebi has nothing to do with the Agca incident. Ruzi Nazar would know perfectly well whether he does or not. Ruzi Nazar ought to talk with Rome Magistrate Martella. Or more accurately, Martella ought to hear American operative Ruzi Nazar. Ruzi Nazar Bey is on the inside with the right-wing Turks in Germany. He is the person who knows all the connections best. The person who should be heard, who should be put on the witness stand, before Celebi is this Ruzi Nazar, who is in Bonn in Germany. The more you look, the more you find. Suffice it to say, "Look." The person for Prosecutor Martella to hear at this stage has to be Ruzi Nazar.

--Many facts are all jumbled together around Agca. Why should Agca want to shoot the Pope? Why should Celenk tell Agca to do it? Why should the idealist Serdar Celebi and the Bulgarian Ivanov Antonov be actors in the same play? Nobody knows yet. Prosecutor Martella has not reached a definite conclusion either. We, therefore, are trying to lay out all the connections, whether concerned with Agca or not. We are looking at Celenk, Agca, Musa Serdar Celebi, Enver Altayli, Oral Celik along with all the connections. If we do not inquire into Celenk, we cannot get to Samir Aris; if we do not investigate Aris, we cannot get to Henry Arslanyan. The deeper we dig, the more interesting it gets. We have written about only some of it. There is some we have not written about, that we cannot yet legally write about, but we have given the dates and numbers of the documents on which it is based.

--Bulgaria is a smuggler's paradise. The Sofia hotels are smugglers' headquarters. And Agca stayed at the Hotel Vitosha. And his false passport was delivered to him. We have sorted through many smuggling files in Turkey; every one of them has a Bulgarian connection. Bulgaria strides the highway linking Turkey to Europe. This is where its importance comes in. It is not just guns that travel the Bulgarian road to Turkey. Guns comprise perhaps 10 percent or 15 percent of the smuggling. The real smuggling is in steel, electronic devices, coffee, cigarettes, spare parts. How does the Bulgarian Government condone all this smuggling? Doesn't it know? Doesn't it see? It knows and sees. We can give them evidence of the Bulgarian connections from smuggling files in Turkey. We do this from time to time.

One instance from the files of the Supreme Court of Appeals was the case in 1977 involving the smuggling of rocket launchers. The weapons were shipped from the Bulgarian port of Burgas. The company involved was Kintex. The ship flew a Cypriot flag. The skippers were Greek. There are other such examples. In a disciplined country like Bulgaria, the years of on-going smuggling must certainly be known to the Bulgarian secret police. And the interesting thing is that the weapons smuggled in Bulgaria are weapons produced in NATO countries. Don't the Bulgarian police know or see how all these arms from NATO nations clandestinely enter a Warsaw Pact member nation? They know and see. Then don't they know these arms will be used in acts of terrorism in Turkey? They know, certainly they know. Terrorism is multinational and multi-targeted. Everybody from the KGB to the CIA knows who directs this arms traffic. There is no way the CIA and the KGB could not know where the guns come from that are used in all these terroristic actions and how they got there. It is rather like a sick joke being played on the poor nations. Statistics confirm it. Two-thirds of the arms produced are sold to the

Middle East. The arms-producing nations are the United States and the Soviet Union, and France is right in there with the big guys. Other industrialized nations figure in, too. It is our people who die. It is our people who suffer. And in the meantime, it is the arms-producing nations that make the money. This is how things are!

Money and the Mafia

The investigations in Italy are following two courses. One is the Agca investigation on which we have dwelled so extensively here. After Agca's second statement, Musa Serdar Celebi and then the Bulgarian Ivanov Antonov were arrested. What is Celebi's connection with Agca? With Antonov? With Agca, it is a natural. The right-wing terrorists who fled to Germany most likely established contact with Celebi, as Celebi was the right's most competent, most looked-up leader in Europe. He was also Turkes' side-kick.

--Is Ivanov an agent of the Bulgarian secret intelligence organization? He may be. If so, events move into a different framework. That other framework extends to the most unlikely relationships. The more definitive these leads become, the more other events fall into place. The Agca file has grown to include Musa Serdar Celebi, Bekir Celenk, Abuzer Ugurlu and Oral Celik. Agca, Musa Serdar Celebi and Oral Celik are on the idealist right. Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu are two smugglers with close ties to Bulgaria. And suddenly a Bulgarian name is added to this ring: Antonov. Antonov doesn't fit. He is most likely a Bulgarian secret service agent. Did he once work in Turkey? No one knows. There is another Ivanov Antonov. He worked in Turkey; but this Antonov's first name is Sergei, the other's was Antony. Only the names Ivanov and Antonov are the same. Celenk's Bulgarian ties are suspect. Agca obtained a false passport from Omer Mersan whom he met at the Hotel Vitosha. If Antonov is an intelligence agent, affairs take a thoroughly Byzantine twist. They may be in an utter tangle in the initial stages, but light is slowly being cast on them. Prosecutor Martella holds the knot. The knot will somehow be unraveled. Unless, of course, a few people die in the meantime, throwing the investigations off course.

--The second large investigation in Italy is taking place in another city: Taranto Prosecutor Carlo Palermo is prying open the file of an Armenian smuggler of Syrian origin named Henry Arslanyan. Arslanyan's partner is Samir Arosyan, otherwise known as Samir Aris, Celenk's side-kick. So you see, the names in another investigation reach right into the Agca file. One named in this investigation is Hasan Nehir, a smuggler from Gaziantep whom we have discussed before. The Nehir's have a factory in Gaziantep and hotels in Istanbul, and way back in 1972 Ibrahim Telemen was telling the Izmir Martial Law Military Prosecution about Bekir Celenk's dealings with the Nehir's. This statement was published in CUMHURIYET on 13 October. The file in which this statement resides was first lost, then found. Huseyin Cil is another mentioned in the same file. The same with Mustafa Kisacik. They were once kept under surveillance for months by Turkish police. All three are now in jail. The Taranto prosecutor believes that arms smuggling is conducted in conjunction with drug smuggling. CUMHURIYET revealed this relationship months and years ago, complete with obvious leads. Now events are confirming these publications, as to both subject matter and individuals.

--The anti-Mafia campaign in Italy was stepped up after General Della Chiesa was slain by the Mafia. As the campaign gained momentum, the Mafia fell back on what is called "Domino" methods in settling its own internal accounts and, one by one, wiped out any members who could talk. Everybody knows the Mafia is no two-bit organization. On the contrary, it has an extensive, far-reaching structure exactly like a multinational corporation. Thus it has far-reaching political and financial relationships, complicating "Operation Mafia." Various obstacles have cropped up during the operation. It is unclear who may be in how deep with the Mafia. For this reason, the big bosses are getting rid of the men who could talk in order to prevent the investigations from widening. Italy lives with this sort of thing.

--The "Calvi incident" is a big one among Mafia scuttlebut. Calvi was an ordinary bank clerk early in 1979. He worked at the Banco Ambrosiano. In early 1980, Calvi was one of the biggest bankers in Italy. But he suddenly went under. Suspicious dealings were discovered at the bank. Calvi was thought to have gotten mixed up in drug and arms smuggling. Investigations were opened in Italy, and Calvi was found one June day in 1982 suspended from a bridge over London's famed River Thames. Someone had murdered Calvi. But who? Nobody knew, and the incident has never been cleared up.

--Was there dirty Mafia money at Calvi's "Banco Ambrosiano?" It seemed so. At the same time, Calvi seemed to be involved in the "P-2 Masonic Lodge scandal" that shook Italy last year. The lodge chief, Licio Gelli, and Calvi were closely associated. During foreclosure of the bank, it was discovered that huge sums of money had come through the bank secretly and had been sent to South American countries through front corporations.

Calvi and the Cardinal

--Calvi, a man involved in such dirty dealings, was also associated with an American cardinal, Mercenkus, the chairman of a religious organization named "IOR," one of the Vatican's financial organizations. The cardinal had written letters of guarantee for money of doubtful origin. The Pope ordered an investigation into this affair. These are events and reports that appeared in the press but were not pinned to definite proof in the courts. Calvi was murdered. Mafia members were being killed off one by one and General Chiesa, who had more information and authority as regards these investigations than anyone else, was also murdered. The domino theory was at work. The Mafia wanted no trace left behind. There was crime, but the source of the crime was hidden. Where was the Pope in all this? Was there a connection, as has been suggested, between the attempt on the Pope's life and events in Poland? Was Antonov involved for this purpose? Then what role did the right-wing terrorists from Turkey play in these affairs? Were they used by the KGB? Or by the Mafia? These questions are still up in the air. There are no answers at present, and no chance of getting answers.

Heroin-Bank-Smuggler-Terrorist

--Heroin goes out of Turkey; in exchange, guns come into Turkey. This is the scheme. But, who handles the money end of this exchange? The Mafia does. This is where the relationship between the Mafia and the banks begins. Anyone who is used and found wanting is murdered immediately he is found to be of no use. [as printed] There is a chain extending from the arms factories to the producers of acetic anhydride, from there to the banks and from the banks to the arms smugglers. The chain then picks up the terrorist organizations, whether left or right. This is where the terrorism market starts.

In the last 4 years, 822,632 handguns and automatic weapons have been confiscated in Turkey. Also 5,454,000 rounds of ammunition. A rough estimate of the market value is in excess of 30 billion Turkish liras. This obviously requires some firm, outside financial support.

CUMHURİYET has been trying for years to expose these connections. It has encountered many threats and a great deal of pressure because of it. Naturally, the same sorts of pressure and threats will come in the wake of these new events and documents we are discussing. This is how one finds out who runs the terrorism market. We understand this. We try to inform the public of what we know. We occasionally run into obstacles. We plan to document those someday also.

The Agca and Mafia files have brought us this far. We are not putting the final period in place here. Instead, we shall use a semicolon, because we know that the deeper the investigations go the more other relationships will emerge. When they do, we shall again try to clear away the smoke. The Agca file has not been closed; it is just being opened. The same is true for the godfathers file. Our topic is terrorism, and the Mafia is on our agenda. [8349]

Reopening Obscure Files

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 20 Dec 82-12 Jan 83

[Series of articles by Ugur Mumcu]

[20 Dec 82 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Apologue: In this serial I have put together all evidence and clues connected with the Mehmet Ali Agca case. An effort has been made to clarify Agca's escape from prison, his hiding in Ankara, his assassination attempt against the Pope and connected smuggling incidents through meticulous examination of all related files and to provide information on people involved in incidents covered by these files.

Incidents already known to the public have been reassessed and placed in their proper context due to new clues. That is why I even wrote about incidents that have already been made public. I have analyzed in a logical sequence each

incident by itself and in regard to its significance with other related incidents and have come up with a new relationship among those incidents and people involved in them. My aim in this serial is to reexamine the files connected with the killing of MILLIYET editor Abdi Ipekci and to review smuggling files that were not known so far.

[signed] U.M.

Ankara--Omer Mersan, the person who provided Agca with a fake passport, is employed by the Vardar Company, registered in Munich and owned by the Selami and Bekir Gultas Brothers, involved in smuggling incidents with Abuzer Ugurlu. In its investigations, the office of the public prosecutor in Rome has determined that the Munich telephone numbers 530489 and 531070 that Agca called from Italy prior to his assassination attempt on the Pope, belong to the Vardar Company.

In his testimony at Istanbul Security Directorate's financial police department, the notorious smuggler Abuzer Ugurlu says that he bought foreign cigarettes from the Bulgarian Kintex Company through the intermediary of the smuggler, Faruk Mahmutoglu, adding that from 1977 to 1979, he smuggled more cigarettes with the help of another smuggler, Selahattin Guvensoy. In this same statement, Ugurlu says that during 1977 to 1979, with the help of Selami and Bekir Gultas he smuggled an International Highway Transport [TIR] truck loaded with electronic equipment and two others with foreign cigarettes and that he sold all this through the intermediary of Orfi Cetinkaya.

In the wake of his information to the martial law authorities on Abuzer Ugurlu, Selahattin Guvensoy and his accomplices, Ibrahim Telemen was killed in a mysterious way. After Telemen's death or suicide, all suspects mentioned in his letter were detained. This incident was reported by the press as the "operation against the godfathers." However, the suspects appealed to the First Army Court against their detention. The panel of judges headed by Judge Maj Metin Taran decided in favor of their release. Following this trial, Major Taran retired from his post at his own request.

In his statement, Abuzer Ugurlu admits that in 1980, together with Selami and Bekir Gultas, he smuggled two truck-loads of electronic equipment. Ugurlu adds that the electronic equipment was dispatched by Selami Gultas, one of the owners of the Vardar Export Company. These goods were sold in the market first by Coskun Temel, an associate of Abuzer Ugurlu, and later by Bekir Gultas.

In the smuggling world, Bekir Gultas is known as "Beko," while Abuzer Ugurlu's name in the underworld is "Atilla." Bekir Celenk also uses the same code name. The Gultas brothers were the Munich connection of the smuggling ring. An intimate relationship exists between the Gultas and Ugurlu brothers. In fact the Abuzer and Mustafa brothers are being prosecuted by the Fourth Military Court in Ankara together with Selami and Bekir brothers for smuggling through conspiracy with other parties. While Mustafa and Abuzer Ugurlu are in jail at the Ankara Military Prison, Selami and Bekir Gultas brothers are in the FRG as no action has been taken against them yet.

Omer Mersan, who talked with Agca on Room 911 of the (Vitosa) Hotel in Sofia, is an employee of the Vardar Company owned by the Gultas brothers. In his handwritten testimony to the public prosecutor's office in Rome, Agca says that

he met with Mersan in Bulgaria and was told by him that he had black market people as friends in Turkey and that if he brought four pictures and DM60,000, he could get him a passport.

--The fake passport provided to Agca by Omer Mersan was presented as having been issued by the security directorate in Nevsehir. The passport bears the name Faruk Ozgun and the number 136635. It is curious that the fake passport provided to Omer Ay, a rightwing ulkucu [idealist] militant, being sought by the police for being involved in armed incidents, bears the number 136636 and that both passports were issued on 11 August 1980. These two passports were delivered to Agca in his (Vitosa) Hotel room. Omer Mersan has connections both in Turkey and the FRG, while Abuzer Ugurlu is the partner of his employers....

Who is Omer Mersan?

The Vardar Company, that is involved both in the Agca incident and the trials of Abuzer Ugurlu, has connections in Turkey. The electronic equipment smuggled by the Vardar Company in TIR [International Highway Transport] trucks was marketed by Ugurlu. Mersan, who supplied Agca with a passport, is employed by the Vardar Company and had various telephone conversations with Agca between the FRG and Italy. These telephone conversations were held prior to the assassination attempt against the Pope.

CUMHURIYET readers have previously heard the name Omer Mersan. The letter written by Suleyman Necati Topuz, Abuzer Ugurlu's former associate and relative, on Omer Mersan was released to the public earlier. In his letter, Topuz said the following in connection with Omer Mersan.

"This person works for the Ugurlu family. Omer Mersan, together with Fikri Kocarerim and Selahattin Guvensoy, conducts the Ugurlu family's affairs in Bulgaria and other European countries. For Omer Mersan is not a small-time smuggler. Only and only Omer Mersan can fulfill the directives or duties given by the Ugurlu family in Istanbul."

This information given by Suleyman Necati Topuz confirms indictment No 1982/376 dated 5 April 1982 by the Istanbul Martial Law Military Prosecutor's Office. The names Selahattin Guvensoy and Fikri Kocakerim appear in this indictment as well. The same names are the major issue of the information supplied by Ibrahim Telemen. The martial law indictment, the information supplied by smuggler Ibrahim Telemen and smuggler Suleyman Necati Topuz, who is currently under arrest in the FRG, agree on one point. Abuzer Ugurlu confirms these relations in his statement.

Fikri Kocakerim and Selahattin Guvensoy conduct Abuzer Ugurlu's relations with the Kintex Company. The owners of the Vardar Company in Munich, Selami and Bekir Gultas, are involved in smuggling jointly with Abuzer Ugurlu. Omer Mersan works in this company. Thus the connection becomes definite.

Suleyman Necati Topuz applied to our embassy in Sofia in 1977 to say that he had given information to Omer Mersan. He also sent a copy of the letter in which the information was given. It has become evident, through this letter and the attached petition, that acting on this tip, our Sofia embassy conducted an investigation in connection with Omer Mersan.

Suleyman Necati Topuz is currently under arrest in the FRG. The international arrest warrant No 795/79 A-274 issued by the Interpol Secretariat in November 1979 states that Abuzer Ugurlu is being sought for smuggling 1,450 kilograms of drugs together with Suleyman Necati Topuz and Ugurcan Elmas. Topuz was captured and arrested in the FRG. Abuzer Ugurlu was sought only after the information was given by Telemen and after his suspicious death. He was arrested and then immediately released. He was again sought after 12 September 1980. He gave himself up to the Istanbul security directorate on 21 March 1981. He was sentenced to a year in prison after being released on 5 million lira bail during his trial together with former minister of customs and monopoly Tuncay Mataraci. Ugurlu was convicted of bribery for bringing his own men to the border crossing. The bribe was extended to a minister, Tuncay Mataraci, transferred from the Justice Party to the RPP.

[21 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--We have seen that Abuzer Ugurlu works with the Bulgarian Kintex Company. We have also seen that Ugurlu works with the Selami and Bekir Gultas brothers and that Omer Mersan, who supplied Mermet Ali Agca with a false passport, works with the Vardar Company owned by the Gultas brothers who are Ugurlu's smuggling associates. We have also determined that prior to the assassination attempt against the Pope, Agca called phone numbers 530489 and 531070 belonging to the Vardar Company in Munich. The above-mentioned details were determined in accordance with the Rome High Criminal Court files on Agca and the files on the Ugurlus' conspiratorial smuggling. We have thus determined these connections. Agca is connected with Mersan, Mersan with the Gultas brothers, the Gultas brothers with the Ugurlus. This chain of connections forms a quadrangle among Munich, Sofia, Istanbul and Nevsehir. On one corner of this quadrangle there is smuggling, on the other Bulgarian companies, on the third networks issuing forged passports, and on the last our man Mehmet Ali Agca, "the independent terrorist" as he calls himself.

The indictment in connection with the smuggling incidents in which Abuzer Ugurlu and his friends and the Bekir and Selami Gultas brothers were associates was prepared by the Istanbul Martial Law Command Military Prosecutor's Office. In accordance with an amendment stipulating that all smuggling cases are to be assembled at a single court, the file was sent to the Ankara Martial Law Command Fourth Military Court. At this trial, in which the Bulgarian Kintex Company, the Turkish Vardar Company and the Ugurlu brothers are mentioned, Abuzer Ugurlu made interesting statements. The name of Harun Gurel is mentioned in these statements. Harun Gurel was brought to the Ipsala customs directorate by Tuncay Mataraci, the former customs and monopoly minister. Ugurlu stated that he smuggled cigarettes and electronic equipment into the country through the Ipsala border crossing while Harun Gurel was the director there. The Vardar Company of the Gultas brothers used the same border crossing.

Harun Gurel

Harun Gurel is a retired junior officer. Gurel, who was tried in the Mataraci case and sentenced to 3 years in prison, was prosecuted for rape, drunkenness, molestation, violation of dwelling immunity and other similar offenses while he

was serving as a junior officer. While he was the commander of the Avcilar gendarme station affiliated with the Bakirkoy gendarme command, he was involved in a smuggling incident. He was released at the end of the trial due to lack of evidence. In 1975 he was included in the "unsound personnel list" to be appointed outside Istanbul. However, this appointment was later stopped.

Telephone Numbers

Harun Gurel's telephone number was also found on Harry Salah Adamson who was captured at the Yayladag border crossing. Gurel's name was also mentioned in the case of the German smuggler, Haberland Calaus. Vitos Vorn and Gunther Trosbach, the two German citizens who were transporting the goods of the Vardar Company, were also found to be carrying the phone number of Gurel.

Two Atillas

The two German TIR [International Highway Transport] drivers said that they met with a smuggler named "Atilla" at the Topkapi Hotel in Istanbul, and that they received the money for the smuggled cigarettes. Abuzer Ugurlu stated that he used the alias 'Atilla.' He then added: Berik Celenk also used the same alias....

A Bribe of 10,875,000 Lira

The plot is clear: Abuzer Ugurlu trio bring his own man to the Ipsala [word indistinct] in order to have the border crossing under his control. To achieve this end, Ugurlu extended a bribe of 10,875,000 lira to Tuncay Mataraci through the mediation of a contractor named Saban Eyupoglu. The money was paid by Ugurlu, and Eyuboglu registered as the property of Mataraci three flats in Ankara's Cankaya district. The money paid by Ugurlu, Ugurcan Elmas and Harun Gurel to Eyupoglu [words indistinct] confirmed by bank documents.

Restaurant

Ugurcan Elmas was tried in the Mataraci case. He was first under detention and then he was released. Elmas owned a restaurant on the waterfront in Istanbul's Sariyer district. He later sold this restaurant to a public association.

During Harun Gurel's term as customs director, the smuggling operations of the Vardar Company and Ugurlu's other smuggling operations were conducted with ease. The investigation in connection with Tuncay Mataraci which was initiated after 12 September 1980 revealed all these connections.

Clues

We have a look at the documents in hand. The decision of the Rome High Criminal Court regarding Agca...the fact that Omer Mersan, who supplied Agca with a forged passport, was employed by the Vardar Company in Munich was written in this decision. This was a clue. The fact that Selami and Bekir Gultas were smuggling electronic equipment together with Abuzer Ugurlu was written in pages 5, [figure indistinct] and 19 of the indictment No 1982/376 of the Istanbul Martial Law Command Military Prosecutor's Office dated 5 April 1982. This was another clue.

When these two clues are put together the Agca-Mersan; Mersan-Gultas, Gultas-Ugurlu connection becomes evident. This is one side of the coin. On the other side there are the names of the Ipsala customs director, Harun Gurel, Abuzer Ugurlu and Tuncay Mataraci. Then we have a look at the constitutional court decision. The same names appear here as well. This is yet another clue.

We put all these clues together.

This is heads and tails game. Tails points to Ugurlu and so does heads. Or these names can be written on playing cards. They are all individual names but all together they form the same deck. When you open the deck of cards you see the names Ugurlu, Mersan, Agca, Gurel, Eyopoglu and Mataraci over the cards.

What Is the Connection?

What is the connection between Abuzer Ugurlu and Agca? For those who ask this question we will outline the framework of this relationship. This is the underworld. In one way, the reason why an individual is together with another is clear and, in another way, it is not clear. On the way from the Bulgarian companies to the armed rightist faction, and from there to the world of smugglers we encounter many amazing relations and faces.

[22 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Abuzer Ugurlu, whom we have been talking about, is from Malatya's Poturge District, from the Aliceri village of Poturge's Tepehan subdistrict. The population of Tepehan is about 16,000. Everybody knows everybody else in Poturge. There is no one in Poturge who does not know the Ugurlus. Their father "Porter Huseyin" is famous. However, Abuzer has outdone his father, his fame has surpassed that of his father. Rumors have it that the most effective member of the family is Mustafa Ugurlu. However, the name of Abuzer is heard more.

Orfi Cetinkaya, who was tried together with Abuzer Ugurlu in connection with the same smuggling cases, is also from Poturge. Ramazan Kutlu, a suspect in the same case, is also from Poturge. Every Poturge citizen who is in trouble in Istanbul runs to the offices of the Ugurlu family in Tahtakale. The Ugurlus are the kings of Poturge. Rafet Kucuktiriyaki, who was the Malatya governor at the time, attended the inauguration of the mosque constructed by the Ugurlus in the Sinan village of Poturge's Tepehan District. Kucuktiriyaki was later appointed to the security directorate general.

Mehmet Sener, who planned the assassination of Abdi Ipekci, the editor-in-chief and columnist of MILLIYET, is also from Poturge. Sener is the son of Celal Sener, who is engaged in the shoe trade in Poturge. Mehmet Sener joined the idealist faction through Kazim Ayaydin, who is also from Poturge. Ayaydin was the head of the Nationalist Action Party [NAP] Istanbul provincial youth auxiliary. Once Ayaydin was arrested for his involvement in a murder case, tried and then released. It was Mehmet Sener from Poturge who supplied Mehmet Ali Agca with the weapon used in the Ipekci murder.

After being aided in his escape from the Istanbul Kartal-Maltepe military prison, Agca was brought to Ankara in a Renault car with license plate 34 RF 601. The car was registered in the name of Hasan Huseyin Sener, the brother of Mehmet Sener.....

Yavuz Caylan

Yavuz Caylan, who drove Agca to the scene of the incident in the Ipekci case, is also from Malatya. Agca and Caylan were friends at the Turham Emeksiz High School. They met in Istanbul and together planned an action. There is high probability that Oral Celik was also involved in the Ipekci murder case.

Oral Celik

It was Oral Celik who helped Agca escape from the Kartal-Maltepe military prison. Celik is from Malatya. The Rasim and Ramazan Gurbuz brothers, who were also involved in helping Agca escape and also from Malatya. Hamid Gokenc, who supplied Agca with a passport in Malatya, is also from Malatya. Gokenc gave Agca the passport he had issued in his own name. There is high probability that Agca went to Iran with [word indistinct] passport. This name, Hamid-Gokenc, is very important. Gokenc and Oral Celik took Agca from Ankara to Nevsehir, where Agca stayed in Gokenc's house. Hasan Murat Pala, who took Agca around Ankara in his car with license plate 06 LC 337, is also from Malatya. Mehmet Kursun, who was also involved in the same incident, is also from Malatya.

In Ankara, Agca hid in a house in Bahcelievler Street--No 33/3--which was under the sovereignty of the idealists. The house belonged to Mustafa Dikici, a civil servant at the land and agricultural reform secretariat. Dikici had worked at various idealist establishments. The house was across the street from the building that housed the military conscription offices.

Does all this have some meaning? In a way it does and in a way it does not. If you follow the traces there is, and if you do not there isn't.

The Apricot Night

Yavuz Caylan claims that he met Mehmet Sener during the "Apricot Night." No investigation has been carried out into the "Apricot Night." Who made financial contributions for the "Apricot Night?" The rich citizens of Malatya, the businessmen of Malatya. Was Abuzer Ugurlu among them? This issue was not investigated. Is the question significant? Maybe not, but the "Apricot Night" should be investigated. Where was it held. Who organized it? Who contributed to its organization?

Questions

Mehmet Sener has been captured in Switzerland. It has been months since his capture but he has yet to be extradited. Did Sener and Ugurlu know each other? From Poturge for example? Then from Istanbul? Did they never meet? Did they never get together? Who gave Sener the weapon he gave to Agca. Sener happens

to be the point in junction here. The issue of who gave Sener the weapon used in the Ipekci murder is the knot. We do not say "Ugurlu gave him the weapon." Our question is only whether or not Sener and Ugurlu knew each other. Our second question is from whom did Sener take the weapon. To a great extent, this is the question that will untie the knot. However, Sener's return to Turkey is being delayed. Why this delay? It is not clear. The longer the delay the more difficult to gather evidence.

Agca was captured on 25 June 1979. He was captured on the tip of an unidentified person. In his first statement on 30 June 1979 which was hand written, Agca was content with writing only a general statement: literary words in the genre of a composition. He referred to seeking [word indistinct] in the places he stayed. However, he did not make a satisfactory statement in connection with the incident. He did not even give the address of the place he stayed. Neither did he give the address of his house in Malatya. He only wrote a literary composition. The places he stayed should have been the first thing to be investigated. Through a search of the places he stayed, some clues could be gathered. However, it is amazing that no one asked him where he lived and where he stayed.

We said "literary composition." The "literature" is as follows:

"It can be said that I guessed much of what would happen after killing Abdi Ipekci. All the dailies will have black headlines, all state party, industrial, press officials, in other words all the representatives of this order, will walk ahead together. All kinds of measures, which in no way thought about when the youth, children and the elderly were massacred, will fill the press and radio through the mouths of various officials. And our people, who are enemies and who are killing and destroying one another, will be able to at least have a glimpse of the realities. The people will see on whose side the order is, they will see the storm created over a single person by those who did not even shed a single tear for the thousands killed, they will at least realize that no results will be achieved by killing one another."

Time Is Being Gained

Time was being gained through this statement. This time would be used to hide the weapon used in the murder. In his first statement, Agca said that he had thrown the pistol into an empty lot, that he went to the Dali Hotel immediately after the incident and slept, and that he learned of Ipekci's death the next day. He neither referred to Mehmet Sener nor to the television room of the Aksaray Idealist Youth Club, where they went after the murder.

Agca disclosed that they had planned the murder together with Sener in his testimony on 6 July 1979. He also stated that he had no "political connections" with either Sener or Caylan, and that his aim was to involve the prominent people of this capitalist, boss-landowner order in terror. And what happened to the weapon? He said that he gave the weapon--which he claimed he had thrown away in his first statement--to Mehmet Sener at the idealist youth club.

What Happened to the Weapon?

Two days later, Agca changed his tune again. He made a brief statement. He said that "he will reveal both the weapon and the persons who were involved in the incident after his release." Two days later he changed his statement concerning the weapon once again. He reverted to his original statement and claimed that he wrapped it in a piece of cloth and threw it away in Kasimpasa. He also sprang another surprise. He said that Mehmet Sener and Yavuz Caylan are not in any way involved in the murder. What about the story that Agca and Mehmet Sener had planned the murder together and that Agca had returned the weapon to Sener?

Searches

Agca was captured on 25 June 1979. When he submitted his first statement on 30 June 1979, he said: "I will give in my address in due course." The address was not investigated. It was only on 5 July that it was decided to search the house of Agca's brother-in-law in Istanbul. There was an interval of 10 days and whatever proof there was, it was lost. The search in Sener's house took place on 3 July--that is, 1 week after the incident. The search of the coffee fireplace at the Inan Shani in Cagaloglu, where Sener worked, took place on 2 July--again, 1 week after the incident; and if there was any evidence, it was destroyed and if the weapon was there, it was removed. The house where Agca stayed in Istanbul was searched on 9 July and his house in Malatya was searched on 10 July.

What Happened to the Addresses?

What is sadder and odder is the fact that the addresses and telephone numbers found on Agca when he was caught were not investigated at all. What is even more strange than this is the writing No 63182 on 2 August 1979 by Mustafa Kusan, the director of the first department of the Istanbul Security Directorate.

Let us read this note: "To the military prosecutor's office of the 1st Army and Istanbul Martial Law Command,

"It was noted that three pieces of paper containing various addresses and telephone numbers, found on Agca when he was captured as the murderer of journalist Abdi Ipekci on 1 February 1979, were by mistake still in our file. Since it is believed that these notes may aid in the investigation, they were enclosed in this envelop.

"Please send a receipt."

Agca was captured on 25 June. His house and other places he stayed at were not searched immediately. If the searches were conducted on time, much evidence might have been obtained. However, this did not happen. The addresses found on him were somehow forgotten in the file and only sent to the military prosecutor's office 1 1/2 months later!

It is unclear whether this was intentional or the result of negligence....

[23 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] During his initial interrogations, Agca continuously made confusing statements. His motive was very clear: To gain time. He was successful in achieving this goal. Searches were not conducted on time at the places where he stayed. His accomplices, such as Oral Celik and Mehmet Sener, were able to disappear without any trace within this time. Some time after Agca was transferred from the security directorate to the Selimiye military detention home, a meeting was arranged between Agca and his brother Adnan Agca before military prosecutor Cl Refik Karaa.

Adnan Agca started crying as soon as he met his brother. When Agca learned that his mother was detained by police in Malatya, he shouted furiously:

"Tell that chief commissioner that I will come out in 1981. I will kiss my mother's hand and I will 'take care' of his mother..."

His brother said to Agca: "I know you did not kill." Trying to silence his brother, Agca said: "No, I killed, there are four witnesses." In tears, his brother insisted: "I know you did not kill, but only took the blame." Agca became irate again: "I killed; there are four witnesses." His brother insisted again: "I know, you did not kill." Agca firmly put an end to the argument: "Why should I take the blame if I did not kill...?"

When military prosecutor Karaa was left alone with Agca he asked: "A while ago, you told your brother that you will get out of prison in 1981, kiss your mother's hand and 'take care of' that chief commissioner's mother; what does this mean...?" Agca's reply was very short: "I will get out of prison in 1981." He is very confident. Colonel Karaa asked him again: "What are you relying on, how will you get out of prison?" Agca was still sure of himself: "I will get out." This time Karaa spoke carefully: "You committed murder and this is punishable by execution. By that date you will have been hanged. What are you counting on...?" Agca's response was very interesting:

"Your decision, the sentence that you will pass will not reach me."

At this point, Karaa became very curious and asked again: "How will it not reach you, are you going to escape from here?" To this question, Agca gave an evasive answer: "An amnesty will be declared in 1981."

Furthermore, the fact that Agca was captured following an anonymous denunciation has not been clarified. From the very first day, the military prosecutor's office tried to locate and talk to the police officer who received the telephone call denouncing Agca, but was unable to do so. A certain amount of friction occurred between the military prosecutor's office and the security directorate. The first department did not conduct any investigation in connection with the paper containing the names and addresses of certain persons that Agca was found carrying when he was captured, and sent this paper to the prosecutor's office

long after the main file was transferred to the military prosecutor claiming that it was left behind by mistake. Moreover, no investigation at all was conducted regarding these names, addresses or telephone numbers.

There were three sets of initials (SK, CK, NZ) and corresponding addresses on the paper that was found on Agca. The addresses belong to businessmen Can Kirac, Sahap Kocatopcu and Gunaydin director and writer Necati Zincirkiran. An investigation was not conducted concerning these names.

There were three telephone numbers on the paper: "1493 shop," "2596 office" and 3976 home." These numbers belong to a dried fruit merchant in Malatya. His name is Kemal Ozbay. The surname Ozbay is quite common in Malatya. The surname of Agca's lawyer is also Ozbay: Turhan Ozbay. Is there a connection between this Ozbay and the dried fruit merchant? We cannot know, we cannot find out.

The telephone "1493" is connected to a pudding shop in Malatya belonging to Hasan Misirlioglu....

These persons have not been investigated. Nor has a question been asked as to why Agca noted down these telephone numbers!

This is not all that was written on that piece of paper. There is another entry:

"Halil Ibrahim, Tuzcular Str. Demirkapi, Seferaga industrial area, Koseogullari Kebap Restaurant 294..."

It is known that Halil Ibrahim is a teacher at the Ihsan Mermerci High School in Zeytinburnu Istanbul. Halil Ibrahim's surname is Koseogullari.... The Kebap Restaurant belongs to Halil Ibrahim's brothers and Halil had previously been in Malatya.

What is his relationship with Agca? This was not investigated. Was there friendship or any other relationship between them? No one knows. However, one thing is certain: Agca was carrying this address. The police did not inquire into this name or address. The piece of paper containing these addresses were somehow forgotten "by mistake." This paper was only later sent to the military prosecutor's office. Not only were these addresses and telephone numbers not investigated by the police, but they were not even discussed in court.

Another entry that Agca had on him concerns a Turkish citizen in West Germany.

"Ahmet Tekin Doganates, 65 Senerer Str. 10, Berlin."

Who is this Ahmet Tekin Doganates? It is not clear, because no one asked.

Here is another entry that Agca was carrying: "Veysel Aydin, Ajabe Bookstore."

Who is this person? No one knows, because no one has inquired!

Here is another: "Hohn Str. 4, Dusseldorf, 20"

The telephone number is: "211-378804."

Why was all this not investigated?

There are many more subjects that were not investigated or looked into: A search was conducted at the house of Yavuz Caylan, who drove the car that Agca rode in to Ipekci's murder. Some 9-mm rounds of ammunition were found in Caylan's house during this search. This issue was not investigated either. The search was conducted on 30 June 1979. During the search at the house of Kemal Caylan--Yavuz's father--in Fatih, Karagumruk, Pasahamam Str Merdivenli Yokus, Yusuf Suna, an acquaintance of the Caylans who was a policeman in Adana at the time, happened to be at the house.

During the search, 6 rounds of (fn para) make 9-mm ammunition and another 2 rounds of 9-mm ammunition were found behind the closet in the bedroom. The reason for the presence of these rounds at the house was supplied in the search report as follows:

"When asked about the origin of the rounds, Kemal Caylan's son Murat replied that he found the rounds wrapped in paper near a shed at school when he was studying there, brought them home and hid them behind the closet in the bedroom."

In other words, rounds of ammunition were found in Yavuz Caylan's house, Yavuz's brother in high school claimed to have found them in the street and the issue was thus closed. How was it closed? It is not clear. It is a crime to have rounds of ammunition at home, but the owner of the house, Kemal Caylan was set free.

Another point that was not investigated was from where the identity card in the name of "Kemal Mihcioglu," which was found on Agca when he was arrested, was secured. There is no record in the file concerning this subject. The identity card in the name of Kemal Mihcioglu, which was mentioned in the records of policeman Omer Karatas on 25 June--the day Agca was captured--and the "various addresses and telephone numbers jotted on three pieces of paper" were omitted from the later stages of the investigation for unknown and incomprehensible reasons.

This constitutes the greatest deficiency and error for an initial investigation. Now, it is impossible to understand how so many errors were committed, or rather how they could have been committed regarding the Abdi Ipekci incident.

[24 Dec 82 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Ankara--Notes concerning the subject of smuggling of foreign currency, silver and heroin were found in the notebook used by Abdi Ipekci for his planned forthcoming articles. In his personal notes Ipekci talks about a person named "Kulekci." So far it is still not clear if the name Kulekci noted by Ipekci in connection with incidents of smuggling is in anyway connected with Mehmet Kulekci, the owner of the Kennedy Hotel.

Circles close to Ipekci say that the editor and chief publisher of the Istanbul daily MILLIYET told a close relative: "I am working on a very important smuggling file which I hope to write about soon." At this stage it is not possible to find out what the smuggling file Ipekci dealt with was about.

According to Ipekci's close associates in the newspaper, he was working on a file concerning a minister from southeastern Anatolia to be presented to those concerned. Following Ipekci's assassination, no trace was found on the file he was working on so that all being told about this matter is for the moment only rumors.

A businessman from Malatya involved in incidents of smuggling, expressed the desire to talk to Ercument Karacan, MILLIYET's owner, in the wake of Ipekci's murder. It is reported that Karacan refused to meet with him and told his secretary to tell him that he was on a business trip in the United States. A contractor, closely connected with the businessman from Malatya, also phoned Karacan's office several times for an appointment. It is said that this businessman's efforts to meet with Karacan were concerned with his desire to buy the newspaper. It is also a known fact that in principle Ipekci was opposed to this offer. However, there is no evidence that Ipekci's murder was in anyway connected with the sales of the newspaper or that the businessman from Malatya was involved in it.

Ipekci's secretary Melek Beler has said that the address book in which all phone numbers and addresses of the editor were written had been stolen 15 days before the Ipekci murder. She says that Ipekci was very much disturbed by this and that the agenda was sought in the office for days, to no avail. Ipekci was concerned because all his private phone numbers were in this book. In the end, only the cover of the address book was found. Beler has told me that this incident worried Ipekci very much. This incident has not been properly investigated.

During that time, the keys of Ipekci's car are also lost, so that Ipekci took a taxi cab home from work. Despite a long search, the keys were not found. It is clear that the keys were stolen in order to duplicate them, since they were found after some time somewhere at the entrance of the newspaper building. Though the fact that his address book and his keys were stolen 2 weeks prior to his assassination did not evoke any reaction at that time, it has presently gained some significance.

I Am Not the Target

Again some 2 weeks before his assassination, Ipekci has told his secretary Beler and Turhan Aytul that on his return from a visit to Karacan's house in Arnavutkoy, an armed person stopped him in Zincirlikuyu, and that though he pointed his gun toward him, he did not fire. Both Beler and Aytul told him that the incident must be reported to the police. Ipekci's answer was as follows: You are exaggerating, I am not a significant target.

It is observed that in his private notebook Ipekci took some notes in connection with incidents of smuggling. In some of the last pages there are notes about smuggling of foreign currency and silver. Another note he made concerned gold

smuggling. Another note speaks about this being the means for the right and left to arm. In other notes smuggling was again mentioned as a topic of importance. It can be seen from both the content of his notebook kept on his desk and his private notes that the MILLIYET editor attributed a special significance to the subject of smuggling.

News Items

News reports in MILLIYET issued at that time also confirm our observation. On the front page of the 16 January issue, MILLIYET wrote: 13 kilos of gold was discovered in a covered bazaar. The report added that the suspect was captured with 11 pistols and 9,000 rounds of ammunition. When viewed in relation to Ipekci's notes on gold smuggling, the connection is clear. On 25 January, the MILLIYET headline was also about smuggling of gold. Erhan Akyildiz reported the incident which was headlined on the first page of the newspaper and continued in detail in the inside pages. Akyildiz claimed in his report that 80 to 90 tons of gold are yearly smuggled into the country. The news report summarized all available details on this subject, noting that 15 ingots of gold of 1 kilo each which were seized carried the mark of the Swiss Bank Corporation S.B.C. Essageor-Fendevr. On 27 January 1979, MILLIYET again reported on its first page an incident connected with smuggling: two suspects named Huseyin Sarikaya and Bahri Genc were captured with 80 kilos of hashish worth 10 million Turkish lira.

Question Marks

Did smugglers have Ipekci murdered? At this moment no decisive evidence exists to the effect that this is so. It is clearly evident in the days prior to his assassination, Ipekci was dealing with smuggling issues. Those close to him say that at that time Ipekci was busy preparing a file on smuggling. Again those same persons say that Ipekci received some information concerning a minister's connection with the underworld and that he was about to transmit this information to the relevant authorities. It is most probably that Ipekci noted the name of that smuggler in his notebook. When all these clues are considered as a whole, new question marks arise. Could it be that ... we ask ourselves but have to stop there as to go beyond these question marks an official investigation is needed. What I am trying to accomplish at this stage is to examine all probabilities, to expose new clues in a bid to stress the necessity of reopening the Ipekci file. That is why I am trying to establish the connection among these clues examining each and everyone, weighing all possibilities.

Appointment Book

Before beginning to write this series, I had meetings with all Ipekci's close associates and relatives. I investigated the smallest details with them. Meanwhile, I also examined Ipekci's appointment book in order to find out which people he met with in the last months of his life. On 17 October 1978, Ipekci met with former customs minister Tuncay Mataraci, who has been sentenced to life in prison for receiving bribes from smugglers. This meeting could be only a courtesy call. However, taking into consideration [word indistinct] Ipekci's interest with incidents of smuggling, it could also be that in this meeting, Ipekci asked for information from him on the smuggling incidents he was interested in.

On 13 January 1979, Ipekci met with an American diplomat, (Paul Hanze). (Hanze) is an adviser to the National Security Council, he also writes for the WALL STREET JOURNAL. It is supposed that Ipekci and (Hanze) discussed relations between Turkey and the United States. Ipekci met with (Hanze) before that on 30 July, a Friday, as well as after that when they had tea together at the Intercontinental Hotel. According to Ipekci's appointment book, on 2 February 1979, Ipekci was to meet with U.S. ambassador to Ankara Robert Strausz-Hupe.

In Ankara, Ipekci has a meeting with Bulent Ecevit, who was then prime minister, in connection with the visit of Greek journalists to Turkey and surely also in connection with other current issues. Before he left Ankara, Ipekci talked with Orhan Tokatli, the Ankara bureau chief of the newspaper, as well as Orsan Oymen, a MILLIYET writer. In his talks Ipekci was reportedly very cheerful and brought up no problems with them.

I Second It

The last meeting Ipekci attended before his death was a panel discussion organized by Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association [Tusiad] at a hotel, which is now called the Etap Hotel, on 27 January 1979. I was also present at that meeting. Ipekci, TERCUMAN's Nazli Ilicak and I expressed our views on political issues. Tusiad chairman Feyyaz Berker was the moderator of the panel discussion. In my turn, I exposed the relationship between smuggling arms and violence. I supplied figures of captured weapons and ammunition to prove my point. Answering the subsequent logical question of the source of this flow of arms into the country, I explained that smuggling gangs belonging to an all powerful Turkish Mafia were behind all this operation. On another subject I pointed out the necessity of the right to strike, freedom of political expression and the need for socialist parties. I called for the abolition of penal code 141, 142 and 163 stressing that freedom of expression is not the source of violence and that the source of incidents of terror is rather connected with the smuggling of arms and other related subjects. Some businessmen attending the meeting reacted sharply to my statements, and parliamentarians stood up to interfere with my talk. Berker intervened in a bid to calm the atmosphere and thus I was able to conclude my remarks.

At that point Ipekci asked for the right to speak and said: I completely endorse claims expressed by Ugur Mumcu in this hall, and I second him. Ipekci's statement caused a moment of silence. I extended my hand in order to thank him and we shook hands. Following the meeting, some businessmen and parliamentarians continued to argue with Ipekci.

Five days after this meeting, I was informed of Ipekci's assassination. A Tusiad official that I met in the restaurant of the parliament told me that the tapes on which the panel discussion was recorded were stolen the very day the panel was held. The stolen tapes included Ipekci's statement to the panel as well. According to the preliminary statements by Agca, he began following Ipekci beginning 25 January, so it might be concluded that Agca was among those present at the panel discussion. In his talk, Ipekci talked about arms smuggling

and stressed this issue. These records do not exist anymore. They have been stolen. It is still not known who did it. Fifteen days before his assassination, his address book and car keys were stolen and then the recordings of his talk. None of these incidents were investigated.

It might be that these incidents are insignificant. But it can be that taken separately or as a whole these incidents might be important. No search has been carried out of the house in which Agca lived in Istanbul or the house in which he lived in Malatya following the murder. No search was conducted of the now-dissolved Nationalist Action Party Aksaray Ulkucu [Idealist] headquarters where Agca met with Mehmet Sener. Apparently as Agca played for time with his ambiguous police statements, the evidences of the murder, first and foremost, the pistol used in the murder, were removed.

[25 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--It has been understood that the number of bullets fired at Ipekci was determined in the trial. According to the indictment Ipekci was killed by five bullets. The autopsy record states that nine shots were fired.

The following facts were determined during the autopsy on 2 February 1979 (we are quoting that section of the record):

"Height about 1.65 m, weight around 63 kg, grey beard, curly black hair, dark tan, the bruises of rigor mortis are a light mauve in color, two bullets below and inside the left breast, two bullets connected with undamaged skin below to the left and a scratch, one bullet wound in the middle of the left hip, a bullet entry and exit wound in the forearm, a possible bullet entry wound in the inner left elbow in the form of a scratch, a bullet wound in the right (hiperondur), a bullet wound in the right front underarm line, a bullet entry and exit wound in the right elbow separated by fractured bone.

Now let us restate the bullet wounds and bullets: two below and inside the left breast, 1 bullet connected with undamaged skin below to the left (number as received). One can count some 8 or 9 bullets wounds one beginning in the middle of the left hip, an entry and exit wound in the forearm, another in the left elbow, one in the right (hiperondur), one in the right front underarm line, and a bullet exit wound in the right elbow.

Professor Sahir Erman, who participated in the Agca trial as the lawyer of Sibel Ipekci, the wife of Abdi Ipekci, in the hand written notes he took at the hearings determined that seven shots had been fired. From the files it was understood that there was no statement made or questions asked about the fact that the bullet wounds were not five as written in the indictment but seven according to his notes. Determining the number of wounds would have clarified the issue of whether Agca was the only one who fired the shots in the Ipekci murder or whether he fired the shots together with someone else. No effort was exerted on the issue. There is a high probability that the shots that killed Ipekci could have been fired from the right side of the car and they

could have been fired from the left window. In his private notes, Professor Erman referred to this possibility as well. However, this point was not discussed during the trial. Was Agca alone or not? A sound proof that would determine this fact would be the number of bullets fired and the direction from which they were fired. These issues were not discussed.

Ipekci's car was not placed under security control after the incident and passers by walked around the car, touched its front doors and thus it was impossible to identify the fingerprints inside and outside the car.

This issue was raised by Agca's lawyer, Turhan Ozbay. Ozbay, who wanted to prove that Agca was not alone at the scene of the incident and who wanted to use this point for his defense, expressed the following views:

"Observing the existing autopsy record in the file, it becomes necessary to leave the body in the morgue for autopsy and to perform the necessary examination. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine the clothes from the viewpoint of determining the distance from which the shots were fired. There is no document in the file to the effect that these examinations were performed and this issue was not brought up by your court. From what distance were the shots fired? Were the bullets removed from Ipekci's body fired from a single weapon? If not, from which weapon was the bullet fired that caused his death according to the morgue report? We believe these issues are vague..."

I Killed Him

According to the preliminary investigation at the scene of the incident nine 9-mm shells were found at the scene of the incident and two more shells were found at the driver's seat occupied by Ipekci. Another bullet was found at the same place. It thus becomes evident that at least two persons and not one fired at Ipekci. However, this issue has not been investigated; when Agca said "I killed him" these investigations stopped; when the same Agca said "No, I did not kill him" at the hearing, it was no longer possible to obtain these proofs. It was too late!

By giving confusing information on the weapon used in the incident, Agca gained time for his accomplices. The house in which Agca stayed in Istanbul was searched only a few days after, and the search conducted at the house and office of Mehmet Sener was also too late--a week after Agca was captured!

On the day he was captured, Agca was not asked where he was staying in Istanbul, or he was asked but he did not answer the question. During his first interrogation, Agca said that he would not give the address of the house at which he was staying in Istanbul. And he did not give the address. During the time that passed, the proof and, with high probability, the weapon or weapons were destroyed. The Nationalist Action Party Aksaray Provincial Idealist Youth Club, where Agca, Sener and Caylan went before and after the murder was not searched. Nine mm bullets of the kind used in the incident were found in Caylan's house. However, this issue was not investigated either. This issue did not come up during the trial at all. Whatever Agca said was considered sufficient.

Oral Celik

According to the indictment, the weapon used in the Ipekci murder was a cocked pistol of the "gestapo" style with a capacity of eight 9 mm bullets. According to the investigation conducted at the scene of the incident, 11 cartridges from 9mm bullets and one bullet were found. These could not have been fired from a single weapon. It is evident from the document and findings in the file that at least two pistols were used during the incident. It is thus clear that from the beginning Agca hid the fact that there was another person involved in the murder. Who was this person? There is a high probability that it was Oral Celik! The rightist terrorist from Malatya. The leader of Agca, Caylan and Mehmet Sener! The primary actor in the escape incident! The man who enabled Agca to hide in Ankara! His name recently appeared in connection with the Pope incident. He is a terrorist who knows how to hide himself and others. The key man in the Agca case!

It can also be understood from the Istanbul security directorate expert report dated 3 December 1979 that a single pistol was not used in the Ipekci murder. According to the report, there were five 9mm cartridges found in the Ipekci incident and 4 bullets of 9mm each. The pistol said to be used in the incident has a capacity of eight bullets. Was Agca carrying an automatic pistol? This is not clear. Was it a pistol of the "gestapo" type as claimed? Or was it a "Walther" type as the one showed by Caylan in the weapon catalogue? These points have not been clarified either. Or again was the pistol of the "Parabellum" type? This point is not clear either. To be more exact, it was not determined. If there were two weapons--and this is becoming more evident--then there were two people. Who? Oral Celik!

The Third Person!

The defense presented by Agca's lawyer was in the direction of this hypothesis. He asked: "Eyewitnesses state that they saw two persons, one tall and the other short, enter the back of the car and that a third person drove it. Who is this third person?"

The lawyer asked this question to explain certain things. The third person who did not appear in the testimonies of Agca and Caylan is insistently brought up by Agca's lawyer.

In his first statement Agca said: "I drew my pistol, I put my hand into the car through the right front window and I fired. Previously I had the intention to fire a single shot and kill him in a manner befitting a human but I lost control and I fired 4 or 5 times."

However, the shells found at the scene of the incident show that more than 8 or 9 shots were fired. In his second statement Agca said: "Yavuz told me that Ipekci's car was arriving and I told him to go and start the car before escaping. When Ipekci's car slowed at the turn I ran and fired 4 or 5 times. I ran back to our car. Yavuz and I sat in the front of the car which had been started and we escaped at full speed." In this statement Agca wanted to explain that he was alone when he fired the shots.

Agca is in a tight position on this point. He wishes to gain time by making the following statement:

"I will not be able to say more than I already have at this moment. I will talk about the weapon and the persons who contributed to the incident after I leave the security directorate."

[26 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--Eyewitnesses to the Ipekci murder said that they saw two people at the site of the incident. This claim is confirmed by the number of empty shells found at the site and by the autopsy findings. A new investigation is necessary into this aspect of the murder. The evidence proves that Agca was with another person during the murder. Both Agca and Caylan are hiding the identity of that person from the police, the prosecutors and the court.

Eyewitness Tarik Kokmen said in his statement of 31 October 1980 that "two persons ran toward the car and got into the back seat." Answering a question by the lawyer for the intervenor [mudahil], Professor Erman, the witness also said that "two persons got into the back seat from the right hand door of the car."

Eyewitness Riza Okatan said in a statement on the same date: "When I looked in the direction the shots were coming from I saw two persons," and then: "Nobody sat in the driver seat." The same witness then said: "Two people got into the back seat through the right hand door of the car, through the same door."

Eyewitness Mustafa Turgut said: "I saw two people running toward the car. One of them got into the back seat and one into the front seat. There was a driver waiting inside the car."

Another eyewitness, Ibrahim Pekin said: "My sister and her husband told me that a person got into a Volkswagen car after the incident and that there were other people in the car." He then added: "The minute I heard the shots I came to the window and looked out. One person was running. I also saw a policeman cross the road and go into the grocery store."

Another witness who made a statement under the assumed name of Sadik Aktar because of security reasons said: "The person who shot Ipekci went toward Macka." He also said that when he saw Agca, "He looked 75 percent like the murderer."

The lawyer for the intervenor, Professor Erman, was not in court on 15 February 1980 when this most important witness was being heard. After the witness was heard, Professor Erman came in the court and said that he had nothing to say about this statement by the witness.

The same witness said that he did not see whether the armed man who looked "seventy-five percent like Agca" got into the car or not because he himself was in a daze.

Witness Samiha Ileri identified Agca but felt the need to say that "his height was like that of the murderer but not his other aspects." The closest eyewitness was Samiha Ileri. She said she has seen Agca whose height matched that of the man who shot Ipekci.

If you combine these statements by the different eyewitnesses you reach the conclusion that two persons fled from beside Ipekci's car. If Yavuz Caylan was in the driver seat who was the third person besides Agca. It is understood that there was a third person. One of the eyewitnesses said that he saw a Volkswagen at the murder site. Was he mistaken about the make of the car?... of course that is probable. But let us for a moment assume that there was another car at the murder site. Is that impossible? That there was only one car was claimed especially by Agca and Caylan. Even if there was no Volkswagen besides the Anadol car, there were "other people" in the car, witnesses say. From whatever angle you look at the incident, the conclusion is the same? Agca was with another person at the murder site. There are strong indications that this "third person" was Oral Celik.

In a statement he made on 10 July 1979 Agca said "I approached the car from the right side and fired four or five times. The window next to the driver's seat was shattered during these shots. However, I do not know whether I broke the window and then fired or whether the window was shattered after I fired the shots. He then added:

"Mehmet Sener and Yavuz Caylan have made no contributions to this incident."

There are other aspects in his following statement: On 10 July he said that he "approached the car from the right side" and fired. In a statement on 13 July he said: "I put my hand through the left window because the car had slowed down. The distance between the barrel of the pistol and Abdi Ipekci has very short since I put my hand inside the car. I fired four or five shots." Were the shots fired from the left or the right? According to one statement it was from the left and according to the other from the right. Which is true?

Let us go over Agca's statements, the first statement: I put in my hand through the front right window." The second statement: He does not state through which window he fired. The third statement: He does not state through which window he fired. The fourth statement he said he "approached the car from the left side." His fifth statement is as follows: "I put my hand through the window on the left side..."

Which is true? From the left or from the right? Or were there two persons involved--in accordance with eyewitnesses--one firing first from the right or the left, or the second firing first from the left or the right? These points are not clear but the following has become definite: "More than five" bullets were used during the incident. The shells found at the scene of the incident prove this point. Eyewitnesses' statements also confirm this point. Agca was not alone. There were Yavuz Caylan, Agca and a third person.

We have deduced another conclusion from Agca's various statements. In his first handwritten statement, dated 30 June 1979, Agca did not give any information on the weapon he used during the incident. He only said that "he threw the weapon from the right front window." He stated that he would not give the address of the place he was staying. His second statement was dated 6 July 1979. The statement was made at the political police department. The section of the statement dealing with the weapon is as follows:

"It could be in the second or third floor (the room with the television) of the building in which the Idealist Youth Association is situated in Aksaray. I called Mehmet Sener and gave him the weapon on the staircase."

In a statement he made to the public prosecutor, Ahmet Karaoglu, on 8 July 1979, Agca did not say that what he did with the weapon. He only said that he would disclose "both the weapon and the people who contributed to the incident."

In a statement he made at the Istanbul public prosecutor's office--true to the saying "he speaks the truth in the police station, he wavers in court"--Agca changed his statement and tried to prove innocent Mehmet Sener and Yavuz Caylan. He said that "they did not contribute to the incident." He added that he committed the murder "on his own" and "through his own free will." In a statement on 13 July 1979 to the military prosecutor's office, he felt the need to state that the pistol was a "gestapo" make. He also said that he threw the weapon away after the incident. Did he or did he not? Did he return the weapon to Mehmet Sener? It is not known. He did everything possible to leave this point unclear. Had Mehmet Sener been captured the day Agca was captured and had the places he stayed in Istanbul and his house in Malatya been searched, maybe the weapon would have been found. Had the Nationalist Action Party Aksaray provincial office been searched, certain clues could have been found. The searches were conducted after a delay, and Agca did all he could to delay these searches.

There is another statement in another file as to whom the weapon was given. The file is in connection with Agca's hiding in Ankara. We first had a look at the statement made by Mustafa Dikici, a suspect from the idealist rightist faction, in file No 81/\$13 [as printed] of the Ankara Martial Law Command Second Court dated 11 February 1982:

"Oral Celik came to Ankara at the end of January. He phoned me in the office (note: the office, the land and agricultural reform secretariat affiliated with the prime ministry) and we talked. Oral Celik said that on the way to Istanbul they were stranded at Bolu Mountain due to the snow and that they were left without shelter. The vehicle they drove from Istanbul was a light colored Renault with the license plate 34 RF 601. Oral Celik told me that M. Ali Agca sat in this car. He referred to Mehmet Ali Agca as 'dear child' [Yavru]. Oral Celik who came to Ankara with M. Ali Agca and called me, asked me to find them a house.

"I looked for a house for Celik and Agca in the various sections of Ankara. However, I could not find any. Not having found a house I said that I would hide Agca in a house belonging to my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law, Nurettin Temur, is a presidential security policeman. However, he did not know about the incident."

The statement made by Mehmet Kursun, another suspect involved in the incident, is more interesting:

"According to what I learned from Oral Celik, he said that after escaping from the military prison Agca stayed in the house of Mehmet Gurbuz, who is known by the nickname "Pala" [scimitar] and who is actually from Darende, that he later stayed in the house in Istanbul of Abdullah Catli, the deputy leader of the Idealist Clubs Association, that the pistol used in killing Abdi Ipekci, the chief editor of MILLIYET, was given to Agca by Mehmet Sener and that he knew Abdullah Catli. He told me that after the incident, M. Ali Agca gave the pistol to Oral Celik. He did not tell me what he did with the pistol."

According to this statement the pistol was not thrown away by Agca: the pistol was with Oral Celik. Through his confusing statements Agca allowed Oral Celik to gain some time. Agca gave the weapon back to Celik, who was his leader.

What should be done now is to secure Mehmet Sener's extradition from Switzerland, who is under arrest there, and to interrogate him. Every second lost is important.

[27 Dec 82 pp 1, 11]

[Text] In his preliminary police statement on 6 July 1979, Yavuz Caylan, Agca's accomplice, has said that the idea of killing Abdi Ipekci was first expressed by Mehmet Sener, who supplied him with the picture of Ipekci's car. The statement adds that following the murder, they arrived in the now-dissolved Nationalist Action Party [NAP] headquarters in Aksaray where they had a talk with Sener and Caylan asked Agca: "What about the pistol? To which Agca said: We will settle that. With Sener, there is nothing to worry about.

On his statement of 8 July 1979, Caylan says that upon their arrival at the NAP headquarters after the assassination, Agca went directly into the headquarters while he was parking the car. The statement continues: After Agca went up I also joined him. Agca and Sener were sitting face to face at a table in the television room. I sat next to Sener, who twice patted my knee as a sign of approval for what we had done. There were others in the next room. However, I did not know any of them. There was no talk between us. I got up and Agca followed me, and gave me 1,000 lira, telling me: You can go now, no more work tonight. I began to go, then I returned to ask Agca about the pistol. He answered to the effect that we will settle that--or something like it will be settled.

In his third police statement, Caylan changes the second one by declaring that the pistol was covered with a cloth and thrown away. Adding: What I told you about Mehmet Sener was all lies. In his statement at the office of the military prosecutor, Caylan says: Though we were not tortured we were subject to moral pressures, and goes on to deny his earlier police statements, undoubtedly in accordance with directives he received, saying: First Agca cleaned his gun with a cloth and he threw it out the window.

Let us take a new look at Agca's statement on the same subject: In his preliminary statement made on 30 June, Agca says that he threw the gun out the front window of the car into a deserted field. At first as Caylan was not aware of this statement, he has claimed that they gave the gun to Sener at the NAP headquarters in Aksaray. In his statement of 8 July Agca also says that he gave the gun to Sener. On 8 July, most probably informed by then of Caylan's statement, Agca tells deputy prosecutor Ahmet Karaoglu the following: I will not be able to tell you any more. I will tell all I know about the gun and the people involved in this incident after I leave the security directorate. He does not say anything about throwing the gun away. It is clear that in this way he is trying to gain time. On the other hand, Caylan, in his statement of 12 July, changes his previous story that he gave the gun to Sener, now stating that the gun was thrown out of the car.

Now let us review all statements concerning the gun: On 6 July Caylan says the gun was delivered to Sener. On 30 June, Agca says that he threw the gun from the car. On 6 July Agca says that he gave the gun to Sener. As a result on 6 July both Agca and Caylan claim that the gun was delivered to Sener. Let us continue: On 8 July Caylan says that the gun is with Sener. On the same date Agca says that he cannot make any statements in connection with the gun. Result: Agca is trying to gain time. Let us continue: On 10 July Caylan says the gun was thrown out of the car. On the same date Agca also says he threw the gun from the air. Thus a unity of police statements occurs. On 12 July Caylan says again that the gun was thrown out of the car. A day later Agca confirms that the gun was thrown out of the car. Result: unity of statement confirmed.

Was Mehmet Sener involved in the incident? Let us compare Agca's and Sener's statements on this subject. On 6 July Caylan says that Sener was involved in the incident. On 30 June Agca claims that Sener was not involved in the incident. On 6 July Agca says that Sener was involved in the incident. On 8 July Agca says he will not make any statement. On 8 July Caylan says Sener was involved. On 10 July Agca says Sener and Caylan are not involved. On 12 July Caylan says Agca was not involved. On 13 July Agca says Sener was not involved.

As it can be concluded from the above, contradictory statements exist in connection with the gun used in the killing and the involvement of Sener with the incident. Those same statements prove that Agca and Caylan have been able to communicate in a way which is not yet clear, with each other and have thus been able to coordinate their statements.

These conflicting statements serve one purpose: Sener and Oral Celik gain some time. This is a very important factor since in this way the gun is removed and a way is found to provide for Agca and Caylan to communicate with each other so that they can make the same statements.

Searches should have been conducted as soon as Agca was captured at the NAP's Aksaray headquarters, at the Dali Hotel where he was staying, at the house he lived in in Istanbul, at Mehmet Sener's house and his office at Inan Ishani in

Cagaloglu at Agca's house in Malatya and at Yavuz Caylan's house in order to look for the gun used in Ipekci's assassination. No searches were conducted at the NAP and Idealist Youth Club in Aksaray or in the house he lived in Istanbul as Agca did not give his home address the day he was detained.

Let us now examine the dates in which searches were conducted later on: On 30 June Caylan's house is searched. Some 9 mm rounds of ammunition are found. However, no investigations are conducted on this issue. Kemal Caylan, Yavuz' father is detained on that day and released the same day in connection with the rounds of ammunition found in his house. On 5 July the house of Sener's brother-in-law is searched, no incriminating evidence is found. On 3 July Sener's office is searched. Nothing is found. The same day the house of Sener's uncle is searched, no evidence found. Nothing is discovered in a search conducted at Sener's house on 3 July. On 9 July Agca's house in Istanbul is searched. Agca's passport and an Istanbul city map is found. The page containing the map of Tesvikiye is missing. Agca's house in Malatya is searched on 10 July, though instructions for it were issued from the Istanbul security directorate on 26 June 1979. Bank accounts belong to Agca's mother, Muzeyyen Agca, and some publications with *ulkucu* [idealist] tendencies are found in the search. Among these, the march of the basbug [leader] and the NAP ideological booklet "The Nine Lights," as well as a chain used in fighting and a billy club are also found in the search.

The following can be concluded from this list: As soon as no criminal evidence was found in their houses, both Agca and Caylan begin denying all about the gun and Sener's involvement in Ipekci's murder. It is obvious that they have had some means of communicating. Who was the go-between? That is still unknown.

No investigation has been conducted in connection with Kemal Mihcioglu whose identity card registered in Giresun's Cinarlar quarter was found on Agca the day he was captured. Who was this Mihcioglu? This is not known.

No interest was taken in names and telephone numbers written on three pieces of paper found on Agca the day he was detained. In fact, these pieces of paper were at first forgotten by police and came into the hands of the military prosecutor only later on. Had an investigation been conducted in connection with these people the very day was captured, some leads could have been found. However, no such investigation is conducted.

One of the names is Halil Ibrahim Koseogullari, with a note that he can be contacted at a certain restaurant. Koseogullari is a physics teacher at the Ihsan Mermerci High School in Zeytinburnu. What was his relation to Agca so that his address was found on him? Koseogullari resigned from his post later and has now a stationery shop at the Aksaray Ialeli Altin Ishani. How did he come to know Agca? When did they last meet? Why was his name and address found on Agca?

No one questioned these points, not the office of the prosecutor, not the police and other interested parties. However, it was possible to examine each and every one of the names and addresses found on Agca, as I have done. Why was no such investigation conducted. Why was this not done?

There is another interesting point regarding the searches conducted in this case. When he was captured, Agca has said that he was living in the Dali Hotel. The search of Agca's room at the Dali Hotel was conducted on 8 July. What is unusual here is that--as the lawyer for the plaintiff Erman agrees--all belongings that Agca says he left in his hotel room on 1 February 1979 are found intact on that day. How is that possible? Why, 6 months after he was captured, was everything Agca left in the room 304 of the Dali Hotel preserved untouched? How is it that the hotel management did nothing about this room for 6 months? It is obvious that evidence has been created in keeping with the Agca statements. Another fact is obvious: Agca had accomplices outside the prison and had the means to communicate with them. If this is not so it is impossible that so many coincidences should occur. That is simply out of the question!

[28 Dec 82 pp 1, 9]

[Text] No bank account books were found in the search conducted in Agca's house. The bank accounts that became known on 10 July 1979 were confiscated. In his statement on 10 July, Agca gave contradictory information on these bank accounts. In his testimony to the military prosecutor Agca said that he "could not now state the source of the money."

In his statement to the deputy prosecutor, Ahmet Karaoglu, on 10 July 1979, Agca said the following in connection with the bank accounts:

"There is an account in my mother's name at the Malatya branch of the agricultural bank. She deposits a certain amount in this account every time she receives her pension. One hundred thousand liras deposited on 15 January was given to my mother in the form of foreign currency by my Uncle Mehmet Lal from Belgium and by my other uncle in Germany, Ihsan Bozkurt when they came to Turkey. My mother must have changed the money in the black market and deposited it in the account. The 50,000 that was drawn in February could have been drawn to purchase a television and a sewing machine. I was thinking of going abroad. It can be thought that I drew part of this money to go abroad."

At this point in his statement Agca makes this interesting remark:

"I do not know for sure yet whether I have a bank account in my name or not!"

And then he continues: "...I had once opened an account at Akbank's Beyazit branch, I had 35,000 lira there, now I do not have that kind of money. I do not know whether I have accounts in other banks or not. We gradually saved the 100,000 we deposited in the bank.

This is followed by a short statement:

"I did not receive any money from anyone for this business.

He claims he did not receive!

In his statement to the military prosecutor on 13 July, Agca said the following in connection with the source of the money:

"My father died, my mother receives a pension every 3 months and I did not know that she had 100,000 lira in the bank."

Let us make a full stop here. While on 10 July he said that his "Uncle Mehmet Lal and the uncle in Germany, Ihsan Bozkurt, gave foreign currency to my mother when they came to Turkey" 3 days later Agca said: "I did not know that she had an account of 100,000 at this bank."

Agca continued: "I sent some 5,000 to 10,000 liras a few times, she saved some and our relatives also gave some money. The 100,000 accumulated in the bank, under the current conditions you are aware of the value of 100,000 liras."

Agca, who gave detailed information about the 100,000 lira in his mother's account on 10 July, 3 days later claimed that he was not aware of the existence of this account!

The military prosecutor forced Agca on this point and Agca, who could no longer evade the issue, expressed his helplessness by saying:

"I receive 3,600 lira from my father's pension and from social security every 3 months. I said that I did not work. Therefore, I will not be able to disclose the source of the money in my possession for the time being."

And he does not disclose it!

Agca, who said "I did not know that my mother had a bank account," in his same statement said that he, in February, asked his mother for 50,000 lira. This is all Agca said in connection with the source of the money until 13 July. More detailed information on the accounts comes later. The military prosecutor's office determined that 200,000 lira was deposited in M. Ali Agca's name at the Gebze branch of the Yapi Ve Kredi Bank and that this money was later withdrawn from the same bank's Malatya branch. The date is interesting! The money was deposited on 29 December 1978; about a month later Ipekci was to be killed!

It is interesting that the 200,000 lira that was deposited in the Gebze branch (the name of the branch appears as Duzce in Professor Erman's petition) on 29 December 1978 and was withdrawn from the Malatya branch on 4 January 1979. Around the same date, Agca had a passport issued in his name by the Malatya security authorities. The identity of the person who deposited the money in the Gebze account No 9328 is not known. What is the connection between Gebze and Agca? This connection was not investigated either.

Agca had a passport issued around this time. It is obvious that he intended to leave the country after the murder. Everything was ready. The money was ready, so was the passport. The passport is dated 20 January 1979. The murder was committed on 1 February 1979. Agca made various attempts to commit the murder earlier as well. The murder could have been committed a day or 2 days earlier. However, Ipekci was in Ankara. Therefore, the date of the murder was delayed. From this point of view the dates are significant.

On 15 January 1979, 15 days before the murder, 100,000 lira was deposited in Agca's name in account No 22533 at the Malayta agriculture bank. Of this money, 50,000 was withdrawn 5 days after the murder, on 5 February. In his statement on 10 July 1979, Agca said that he went to Malatya after 1 February 1979, which is the day of the murder. This means that he withdrew money from his bank account after the murder. Let us recall: In his 10 July statement Agca said: "I do not know whether I have accounts in banks or not! Who deposited 100,000 lira in Agca's account 15 days prior to the murder? Why was this money deposited in Malatya? This means that the person who deposited the money was in Malatya. Otherwise, the money could have been sent through another branch in another city. Who deposited the money? Who is Agca's Malatya connection? Who? Who?

Agca had another account, at the Beyazit branch of the Turkish Isbank. The account is No 121051. On 13 December 1977, 40,000 lira was deposited in this account and it was withdrawn on 4 January 1978. Agca had 20,000 lira at the Beyazit branch of Akbank in account No 518990. This money was deposited and then immediately withdrawn. It was deposited by others and withdrawn by Agca!

Professor Erman investigated Agca's addresses at Isbank and Akbank. One of the addresses was "Sadik Sagmen Quarter No 70, Uskudar) and the other was the same address but No 21. Lawyer Erman determined that there are no such addresses in Istanbul. The address given by Agca at the Yapi Ve Kredi Bank is also interesting: "Kintas Building No 42/3, Aksaray, Mustafa Kemal Street." This address belongs to Gunes Oil Company. The owner of Gunes Oil at the time was Sezai Altay. Altay became partners with Febzi Cubukcu and Suleyman Aydin on 5 May 1982. Why did Agca give this address? Maybe he gave this address by chance. Either this way or that. It is impossible to know. Is it confuse people? [as printed] What is Agca's connection with Gunes Oil? Did he work at this company? Did he have an acquaintance or fellow countryman there? These points were not investigated either. Not at all!

[29 Dec 82 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Ankara--The knot in the Ipekci murder is Agca's bank accounts. Who deposited 100,000 lira in Agca's account No 22533 at the Malatya Agriculture Bank on 15 January 1979, 15 days before the murder? Of this 100,000 lira, 50,000 was withdrawn 4 days after the murder. The whole of the 200,000 lira deposited at the Tapi Kredi Gebze branch on 28 December 1978, a month before the murder, was withdrawn from the Malatya branch of the same bank on 4 January 1979, 25 days before the murder. Who deposited this money? Who withdrew it? All this was not determined.

These bank accounts and the dates on which money was deposited and withdrawn from these accounts are interesting. It is understood that certain individuals or organizations deposited at least 400,000 lira in Agca's bank account prior to the murder. Part of this money was withdrawn before the murder and part of it afterward. The money deposited at the Malatya branch of the Agriculture Bank 15 days before the murder raises the suspicion that Agca might have been connected with a wealthy Malatya citizen in this incident. Who deposited the 200,000 lira in Agca's account at the Gebze branch of the Tapi Kredi Bank? Who deposited the money in Malatya?

Agca first made contradictory statements regarding these accounts and then said that he would not disclose the source of the money. The investigation was at a dead end at this point! Did Agca have other accounts in other banks? Maybe he had. But since this issue was not investigated it was impossible to advance further in this direction.

A meticulous investigation was carried out in connection with the bank accounts because of the inquiry in connection with the former minister of customs and monopoly Tuncay Mataraci. The committee that carried out preliminary inquiry on the issue revealed many hidden connections with a really exemplary working method. While documents and bank accounts concerning Mataraci were being investigated, was the name 'Mehmet Ali Agca' and not 'M. Ali Agca' encountered in this file? We have the impression that it was. However, despite all our efforts we could not get hold of this account. These bank documents are among the Mataraci documents that should be sent to storage. Name of bank: Yapi Kredi; name of branch: Istanbul Elmadag; name: Mehmet Agca....

The significance of the incident is this: We proved earlier that the Vardar Company in Munich, owned by the Selami and Bekir Gultas Brothers, whom Agca telephoned from Italy, was involved in electronic equipment smuggling. Omer Mersan, who supplied Agca with a forged passport at the Vitosa Hotel in Sofia, worked for this company. And this company, together with Abuzer Ugurlu, was smuggling electronic equipment to Turkey. Abuzer Ugurlu said that they bribed the Ipsala customs director, Harun Gurel in connection with the smuggling. In the Mataraci case, it was proven through bank accounts that both Ugurlu and his partner, Ugurcan Elmas, bribed Mataraci. Is it not interesting that the name "Mehmet Agca" was seen among these bank accounts? Who is this Mehmet Agca? Who is he?

Let us also note:

The surname Agca is especially common in Malatya. For example, there are two separate Mehmet Agcas in the leather trade in Istanbul, both of whom are from Malatya. However, M. Ali Agca is from Malatya's Hekimhan District and these Agcas are from Izorlu. We talked with both of the Mehmet Agcas who are in the leather business. Both said they worked for the Elmadag branch of Yapi Kredi Bank and that they received no payment from the bank. Then who is this Mehmet Agca? It is not known. No one knows and we are investigating. However, we were unable to see these accounts. The reply of those we turned to was: "We cannot give any information."

There is a common name in the Mataraci case and the Abuzer Ugurlu case. Ipsala customs director Harun Gurel..[as printed] Abuzer Ugurlu bribed Mataraci in order to bring Harun Gurel to the Ipsala customs directorate. The goods of Vardar Company, which is that of Omer Mersan, who gave Agca the passport issued in the name of Faruk Ozgun at the Vitosa Hotel in Sofia, were smuggled through the border crossing by bribing Gurel. In this bribery traffic of Ugurlu-Gurel-Mataraci-Ugurcan Elmas, one should again look at all the accounts, all the money deposited and withdrawn, all the money sent to their name or sent by them and all the checks. The Vardar connection between Agca and the Vardar Company, the Vardar Company and Ugurlu, Ugurlu and Mataraci, and Mataraci and Harun Gurel are known, it is beneficial to have a second look at these accounts. It is most beneficial.

Bekir Celenk's name is also mentioned in the Mataraci file. If you do some research into the world of smuggling and the underworld you will soon see whose names are mentioned with whose. Now look: Ali Galip Kayiran was appointed deputy director of customs at Haydarpasa by Minister Mataraci in return for a bribe. Yasar Yamok is known as a smuggler. Ali Galip Kayiran gave Mataraci a check dated 14 June 1979 with No 983657 from Yasar Yamak's account--Number 349-- in the Goztepe branch of the Turkish Commerce Bank. The account used by Mataraci for his bribe relations was in the name of contractor Saban Eyuboglu. On 23 May 1979, 2 million were sent to this account. The address of the sender was: "Rihtim Avenue, Polat Building, Floor 2, No 28 Kadikov." That address belonged to an iron merchant called Yusuf Yaman. It was determined that the money was deposited by Nusret Gerdan who later said that he had taken the money from iron importer Suat Surmen.

That was not all. The rest was even more interesting: A man employed by importer Surmen went to Ali Galip Kayiran and talked to him about the iron waiting at the Haydarpasa customs. Kayiran later said that he told the man to "solve his problem at the ministry." A short time after that conversation Bekir Celenk called Kayiran and told him that he was going to start importing phenol. Celenk also told Kayiran that after Hayiran's arrest (Kayiran had been arrested in 1979 upon a tip by a smuggler called Ibrahim Telemen), Celenk had worked for his appointment.

This dizzying traffic of smuggling did not end there. Ahmet Altinal, the owner of a gambling house, wrote a check for 2.5 million TL to Kayiran. Ahmet Altinal who was also the owner of the "Altinal Trade Firm" in Mecidiyekoy was involved with Yasar Yamak, known as "limping Yasar." From Kayiran's statement, which is now in the Mataraci file, it is understood that Kayiran and smuggler Celenk were partners.

Let us try to understand these dizzying and complicated relations:

Omer Mersan, who supplied Agca with a fake passport, was working at the Vardar Company in Munich. Before trying to assassinate the Pope, Agca called this company from Italy. The company belonged to Bekir and Selami Gultas. Bekir and Selami Gultas used to smuggle electronic equipment in partnership with Abuzer Ugurlu. In his statement to the Italian prosecutor Martella, Agca said that Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu helped him. Customs director Harun Gurel, who was bribed by Bekir and Selami Gultas and by Ugurlu, was appointed to his post by Minister Mataraci. Abuzer Ugurlu bribed Minister Mataraci for that reason. Another customs official Mataraci appointed in return for a bribe was Ali Galip Kayiran. Kayiran was arrested following a tip by smuggler Ibrahim Telemen, but was subsequently released. Meanwhile, a relative of Kayiran began an import business in partnership with Bekir Celenk. Also involved is an iron importer: Suat Surmen. Those were the links in the smuggling chain.

During our research, we came across another interesting smuggling incident. The name of iron merchant Halil Yazicioglu was mentioned in that smuggling incident which was on file No 1977/533 of the Edirne Criminal Court. At issue was an import item that remained outside the importable items determined by the government, and which was cited as No 84.22.50 in the customs entry tariff book.

It involved "10 wagonfuls of complete monorails and winches" purchased in Bulgaria and attempted to be smuggled into Turkey through the Aysekadin border checkpoint in Edirne. That incident was brought to the attention of the Customs and Monopolies Ministry. Two customs inspectors did lengthy research into the incident. The file was sent from the Istanbul public prosecutor's office to that of the Edirne public prosecutor. The incident of the 312 crates in 10 wagons grew. The informer told both the ministry and certain journalists of the incident. A report prepared by the customs and monopolies ministry inspectors was submitted to the Istanbul prosecutor. It was report No 3 dated 26 June 1978.

It was said that Ipekci was interested in this incident. It is known that in his private conversations, Ipekci used to complain about corruption in customs. We could not find any other evidence in connection with the incident. Is there a link between the murder of Ipekci and this incident? We are not saying that there is. There is no evidence. There is no information. We looked into this incident because we are studying every possibility. What was that incident? Were there any other people involved? Who were they? Were their names put on file or not? Who followed this incident? Who was involved to what extent with this incident? Who informed Ipekci of it?

In smuggling incidents, it is not clear why certain people collaborate with others. Therefore, every file must be studied to its tiniest detail and connections must be made among the files from the viewpoint of the persons involved and the issues.

[30 Dec 82 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Ankara--It is clear that the very day Agca was captured he was sure he would be able to escape from prison. With this in mind, he told Judge Maj Refik Karaay: "Your punishment will not be enough for me." By making ambiguous statements, Agca played for time for his accomplices outside the prison.

Agca, Sener and Caylan finally decided on the murder of Ipekci a month after 200,000 Turkish lira were deposited to Agca's account at the Yapi Ve Kredi Bank in Gebze, 15 days after 100,000 lira were deposited to Agca's account in Malatya's Ziraat Bank, and 10 days after he obtained a passport on 20 January 1979.

These dates are proof of the fact that the murder was premeditated and that money was paid to Agca for this purpose. Asked to explain how he obtained that money, Agca said that he would not say how he got the money and that he did not know if he had any additional bank accounts. Despite these unsatisfactory replies, no action was taken to clarify the issue. Had the bank accounts been investigated, clues could have been obtained and new relationships discovered. However, the investigation did not go any further than this point.

The date set for the murder of Ipekci was 31 January 1979 at first. Because Ipekci was still in Ankara on that day, the assassination was postponed to the next day. On 31 January, Mehmet Sener met with Agca and Caylan at the Nationalist Action Party [NAP] headquarters in Aksaray. On the day of the murder, on 1 February, Agca and Caylan left the Huzur coffeeshop, mainly patronized by rightwing militants, and arrived in Emlak Street in Tesvikiye, where the murder

was committed. Concrete evidence that I have already summarized in my articles proves that Oral Celik was also in the car at the time of the assassination, and that Celik also fired with Agca on Ipekci. There was a third accomplice involved in the murder and all evidence points to this person being Oral Celik. After they killed Ipekci, Agca and Caylan returned to the NAP headquarters in Aksaray.

As stated earlier, in his testimony Agca tried to hide his accomplices, made ambiguous statements on this subject and insisted that he committed the murder by himself. Both at the office of the military prosecutor and at the hearings, Agca repeated this claim. By so insisting in his statement Agca was able to conceal the people or organization who ordered him to kill Ipekci and supplied the necessary money for it.

After he was captured, Agca was detained at the Selimiye prison house. In a petition to the prison authorities, Agca asked to be transferred to the Kartal-Maltepe military prison where the idealist and rightwing convicts were imprisoned. This petition by Agca was accepted and he was transferred to the Kartal-Maltepe prison.

Prior to his escape, Agca all of a sudden changed his statement saying that though he was at the site of the murder at that time, he did not kill Ipekci. Agca succeeded in escaping from prison right after he changed his statement in this way. It is to be concluded that by taking a new stand on the way the murder was committed, Agca in fact gave a signal to his accomplices.

It is interesting to note that Agca was involved in an attempt to escape from prison which did not succeed. In his indictment the military prosecutor, Judge Capt Ahmet Koc, notes that though offered a medical examination during his preliminary questioning, Agca refused the offer. During the first hearing of his trial the defense attorney requested a medical examination for his client to which Agca did not express his support. After his statement to the effect that he was not the one who shot Ipekci, Agca requested a medical examination. Agca was sent to hospital on 13 September but was turned down with the excuse that there were no available beds.

On 5 November 1979 Agca was again sent for a medical examination together with another convict called Atilla Serpil. There, an attempt was made by Serpil who drew two pistols to neutralize the guards, but the attempt failed and Serpil was captured with 1 skewer, 2 strangling chains and 14 rounds of ammunition. Investigations proved later that Serpil received all these weapons from Osman Alasu, a soldier on duty at the prison. What an interesting coincidence it is that Alasu, like Agca, Sener and Caylan, is also from Malatya.

Another interesting detail is that noncommissioned officer Yusuf Hududi, who was the duty officer at the Kartal-Maltepe Military Prison House at the time of Serpil's attempt to escape, was again the duty officer when Agca escaped from prison. Hududi was tried on both accounts but was finally acquitted.

It is known that later on Serpil, who was transferred to the Edirne prison house, disclosed some facts to concerned authorities in connection with his attempt to escape.

Agca escaped on 23 November 1979. Oral Celik, an idealist member, together with Mehmet Tanaydin planned the escape from outside the prison. As soon as Agca declared that he was not the one who shot Ipekci, Celik began the necessary preparations for Agca's escape from prison. He paid 100,000 lira for this purpose to Bunyamin Yilmaz, a soldier on duty at the prison.

This was the way the escape was realized. Agca gave Yilmaz a note to be taken to the coffeehouse owned by Erol Taskin in Cankurtaran. Yilmaz met there with Oral Celik and Mehmet Tanaydin. Tanaydin paid Yilmaz 20,000 lira, telling him to get a gun and 20 rounds of ammunition to Agca in prison. Yilmaz delivered the gun and the bullets to Agca in the prison as told. Thus the first stage of Agca's escape plan was materialized.

Following this, the second phase of the operation began. Agca asked to go down to cell G, with the excuse that he wanted to write his defense. That cell is watched only by one prison guard. Vedat Akyuz, the usual cell guard, was replaced by Yilmaz since Akyuz had deserted. The rest was easy. Opening the door of Agca's prison cell Yilmaz gave him a soldier's uniform to put on. Thus Agca and Yilmaz easily passed through the locked doors of the prison. Crossing the armored brigade fence in Soganlik, the two arrived at the Istanbul-Ankara highway.

Taking an intercity bus they arrived in Mecidiyekoy. Taking a taxi from there, they went to the house of Mehmet Gurbuz, an idealist member. Gurbuz took Agca and Yilmaz to the house of Ramazan and Rasim Gurbuz, his brothers. Celik joined them there. He paid Yilmaz 100,000 lira and gave him two pistols, one 9 mm caliber and the other 6.35 mm as well as 22 rounds of ammunition. On one occasion Oral tried to kill Yilmaz but Agca intervened.

A few days after he escaped, Agca was not afraid to be seen at the Marmara Coffeehouse at Beyazit Square. He had an automatic pistol in his hand and two pistols in his waist. He was accompanied by six of his friends. Saying that he was about to leave for Europe, he bid farewell to his friends. At this moment an idealist member shouted that the police were there for a raid. Agca immediately escaped from the rear door. Ramazan Gunduz, the one that alerted the coffeehouse of the police raid was later taken to the bathroom of the coffeehouse and beaten up. Blood bleeding from his mouth and nose, Gunduz was taken out of the coffeehouse and shot dead. Idealist members Oktay Akyuz, Ismet Yildirim, Yasar Suzan and Celalettin Mayda were captured by the police in connection with the incident. Though they were tried they were not detained.

Some time later, Yilmaz was captured in one of his friends' houses with his gun, ammunition and the 100,000 lira paid to him by Celik. In prison he wrote his friends letters speaking about his wish that God preserve and help the Turks. Speaking about the rightwing convicts in the prison, he called them: colleagues of our cause.

In the trial held on Agca's escape from prison, some officers and soldiers were acquitted, Yilmaz was sentenced to 18 years in prison. Hearing his sentence, Yilmaz shouted at the court the known slogans used by the idealist militants. Thus this case was closed.

Following his escape from prison, Agca was brought to Ankara in a Renault car with license plate 34 RF 601. The owner of the car had a familiar name: Hasan Huseyin Sener, Mehmet Sener's big brother. Had Hasan Huseyin Sener been sought by the police at that time, Agca would have been captured together with his accomplices. However, for one reason or another, Hasan Huseyin Sener's whereabouts were not investigated. There can be no excuse for such a flaw in investigation and assessment. It is impossible to understand that.

Celik informed Mustafa Dikici 20 to 30 days before Agca's escape that Agca would escape in a general's car. However, Agca escaped not in a general's car but in a soldier's uniform. With Dikici's help, Agca stayed at Mehmet Kursun's Ankara house in 1st Street, No 33/3 in Bahcelievler.

Dikici reported Celik as saying that they were helped out by Inci Baba following Agca's escape. In fact, Agca repeated this fact in his statement at the general prosecutor's office in Rome.

From Ankara, Agca was taken to Nevsehir together with idealist members like Hamit Gokenc, Oral Celik and Ihsan Bayram. An open car was used for this. However, as in so many cases, it is not known who owned this car. In Nevsehir, Agca stayed in Hamit Gokcen's house. Later, Agca and Mehmet Kursun returned to Ankara and stayed in Murat Pala's house.

The name Hamit Gokenc is well-known. He is a primary school teacher in Malatya involved in armed incidents with rightwing militants there. The Elazig military prosecutor's office had a search warrant out for him as well as Oral Celik, for involvement in the same incidents. If an effort were made, he would have been located easily. However, no effort was made to this end.

[31 Dec 82 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Retired Navy Col Saim Orencik was the chairman of the panel of judges in Agca's case. I discussed the Agca file with him. The colonel says: At that time we considered the matter only to be a criminal murder case. Our intervention was to conclude the case as soon as possible. Colonel Orencik who is cherished by all other judges and young officers, now has an arm amputated. He is blind in one eye and his hearing has been damaged. All this happened as he tried to dismantle an explosive placed in a car in front of his house.

I asked the colonel if he believed that bomb could be related to the fact that he was the presiding judge at Agca's trial. I do not think so, he said, why should they bomb my house? All I have done is to implement the laws. I asked him to tell me once more how the incident happened.

He said that as he was watching television in the house, he came out to the balcony and saw that someone was placing a bomb under the [word indistinct] next to his car. He immediately ran down and tried to dismantle the can in which the explosive was placed. However, he was late by a second or so and the device exploded injuring the colonel's arm and eye.

As the presiding judge of a military court in Istanbul, Colonel Orencik has dealt with several cases and has handed down several verdicts. He has sentenced Agca to death: he has sentenced Alpaslan Alpaslan, a rightwing militant, to life in

prison; and Saffet Gokdemir, another rightwing militant, to various prison sentences. Alpaslan said in the court that he will get his revenge against the judges. Gokdemir also makes similar threats on the judges. What is interesting in Alpaslan's case is that following his trial, he was sent to a prison near a village in Yozgat, which is in fact where he was born. The rest came easily and as it can be guessed Alpaslan escaped from prison.

Alpaslan Alpaslan's name appears in the list prepared by the Italian police official, (Digos), on connection with the Agca case. The list dated 27 May 1981 and marked as N. 051-195/81 included the following names of idealists as connected with Agca's attempt on the Pope's life. Abdullah Catli, Uzeyir Bayrakli, Aydin Telli, Abdurraha Kipcak, Enver Tortas, Oral Celik and Mehmet Tanaydin. The same list contains the names of Teslim Tore and Sedat Sirri Kadem, known leftwing terrorists, as well as of Musa Serdar Celebi, the leader of the idealist organizations in Europe and Hasan and Behlul Taskin and Timur Selcuk, an idealist who helped Agca during his stay in Erzurum.

Who placed the bomb in front of Colonel Orencik's house? The rightwing armed militants he sentenced to prison or, specifically, the associates of Agca and Alpaslan? There is another aspect to the bombing incident. Since the bomb was placed under a car next to his, in front of his house, it can be assumed that the bomb was not directed against him. The owner of the car under which the bomb was placed is a very rich businessman. Why should the bomb be placed under his car? He has nothing to do with politics whatsoever. It is another probability that those who planted the bomb put it under the wrong car. Though the two cars are of different make, they were parked next to each other. Or it could be that the bomb was placed simply to terrorize the colonel?

This matter has not been completely clarified. It is natural that when a bomb is planted in front of the house of the judge of a military court, those the judge sentenced should be considered suspects in the crime. Has this incident been examined from this point of view?

Every possibility should be reassessed in connection with the killing of Ipekci. An incident which was considered insignificant then could presently be considered to be of a certain significance. In a case like the murder of Ipekci, full of unknowns, a conclusion must be reached after each possibility is reassessed and clues and incidents apparently unconnected are put into a general context.

Those close to Ipekci believe that prior to his assassination he was dealing with the subject of smuggling. They claim this, basing themselves on what they saw and heard. His close work associates also confirm this fact. His closest work associate says that before he was murdered Ipekci was dealing with a specific case of smuggling. However, another close associate says that he was not working on a smuggling file at that time. These close work associates [plural as published] of Ipekci confirm that he was given a file concerning the underworld relationship of a minister from the southeastern part of Anatolia. That is also the opinion of his closest relatives at home. Is this fact a certainty? We do not say this for sure, but neither do we discard this possibility. What we want is to prove that there are possibilities that must be further investigated.

The incident in connection with the bomb placed in front of Colonel Saim Orencik's house is one such instance. Who planted the bomb? This is still unknown. As long as this person is not found, it will not be possible to know for sure why the bomb was planted in a car in front of the judge's home. Is it possible that the bomb was directed against the colonel? Probably, yes. However, this remains a probability. The method I propose is that all probabilities should be reconsidered.

In response to the question why Ipekci was killed, only Agca's statements were taken as a basis. As it can be seen from what preceded, Agca has concealed the truth several times and has distorted the investigations. He has provided misleading information in connection with his accomplices. All this has resulted in distorting the conduct of the investigations. Is it possible then to believe that Agca says on why he killed Ipekci when he has made such confusing statements? I believe not.

Meanwhile, information gathered following the attempt on the Pope's life indicates a connection between Agca and smuggling organizations. Could not this be considered a clue? This is not "decisive evidence," I agree. But is it not a point that could lead us to such evidence? Should this connection be ignored? We believe that it should not be. Let us review some incidents prior to Ipekci's murder. Which were the prominent incidents of the day at that time? Which important incidents of smuggling occurred then? Which of these were submitted to Ipekci for his consideration?

Let us ask some more questions: Does the fact that Agca obtained a passport 20 days before he committed the murder have any value? And finally, does the fact that after he escaped abroad from prison, Agca stayed in expensive hotels in Europe and in the Vitosa Hotel in Sofia which charges \$120 a night have any meaning or importance?

It would be beneficial if all these facts were reviewed in light of a general context. It would be helpful to examine and to reassess each and every incident whether it appears to be significant or not.

On 1 February 1979, a few minutes before he got into his car for the last time, Ipekci said the following to Turhan Aytul, his closest associate in the newspaper at that time: Do not drink tonight. I want to have a very important talk with you tomorrow. I want to see you very fresh.

What was important talk Ipekci told Aytul about? Was it about an internal affair concerning the newspaper? Or was it about the selling of the newspaper or any other prominent issue? No one will ever know since one-half hour after that he was murdered.

Would notes found on Ipekci on the day of his murder give an idea of his last thoughts? These notes were examined by the police. However, I have not been able so far to closely examine these notes which are now being kept by Ipekci's close friend abroad. As soon as I am able to get my hands on these notes, I want to examine them in light of the recent developments.

[1 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--Ipekci was killed on 1 February 1979. The chief editor of MILLIYET had returned from Ankara by the 1630 plane. He had had lunch at the Washington Restaurant in Ankara. With him was MILLIYET's Ankara representative, Orhan Tokatli.

When they walked into the restaurant, Ipekci and Tokatli said hello to Kemal Guceyener, the then private secretary of the prime minister. Guceyener came toward Ipekci and shook his hand. Ipekci said: "I wanted to speak with Mr Demirel but I could not." Guceyener told him: "We will have you two meet tomorrow." Ipekci told him that he is leaving Ankara at 1630. Ipekci said hello to a civilian sitting at Guceyener's table, but then turned to Tokatli and asked him who the man was. Tokatli replied: "He is Sancar Pasha's private secretary, Orhan Kilercioglu."

A little while later, there was a telephone call for Ipekci. It was former Prime Minister Demirel. After speaking on the telephone, Ipekci returned to his table, laughing. He told Tokatli that Demirel asked him: "Did you come back for an overhaul?" The two men laughed. After a short while they left, took the MILLIYET car and drove to Esenboga airport.

At Esenboga airport they ran into businessman Sakip Sabanci who asked Ipekci whether it was true that MILLIYET was for sale. Ipekci first said: "He who has money can buy it," but then added: "No, no, it is not true." Sabanci insisted: "No, no, they say it is on sale." There the conversation ended. The French ambassador was at the airport and Ipekci talked with him for a while. He then said goodbye to Tokatli and, before boarding the plane said: "Tokatli, we will speak to you tomorrow."

As we know, while getting into his car in front of MILLIYET half an hour before he was killed, Ipekci said to Turhan Aytul: "Don't drink tonight because I will make a very important speech tomorrow and I want you to have a clear head." He had said almost the same thing to Tokatli in Ankara a few hours earlier: "We will speak to you tomorrow."

What was the important speech Ipekci was going to make? Was it in connection with the sale of the newspaper? Or was he getting ready for a new project within MILLIYET? Two weeks before the murder, his secretary's address and telephone book was stolen, his own car keys were lost and the tapes of the last panel discussion he attended mysteriously disappeared. Were these things not significant? They certainly were.

Let us have another look at the small notebook Ipekci used to jot down notes in at his desk. The notebook was not dated so we have no information about the dates of the notes written down. However, we can assume that the last few pages were written a few days before he was killed. On the last page we see the words "stability--fresh money" and "Japan." Under that, "iron-steel" and "Libya" and "OECD." Then there is "Carter," "Justice Party general--Nationalist Action Party assembly group, assembly, senate," "searches" and "traffic." In the page before last, there is a note about "Greek journalists" with whom he was busy during those days. A page before that we see the name "Kulekci." What is this name doing here?

Why did Ipekci write that name down? Maybe an informer gave him some information about Kulekci. We do not know. We cannot know. The only thing we know is that there is a smuggler called Kulekci. There were notes about gold and foreign exchange smuggling in the previous pages of the notebook.

Mehmet Kulekci is a well-known name of the underworld. He is the owner of the Hotel Kennedy in Istanbul. That name is so well-known that it even appears in a book called "The Heroin Trail" [name in English] published by the newspaper NEWSDAY. There is some information about Kulekci and his son-in-law Hayrettin Yagci on page 35 of the book.

Kulekci's name also appears in the written statement made by Ibrahim Telemen to the Izmir Martial Law Military Prosecutor, Ustun Gunsan, in 1972. The relevant part of that statement reads: "Mehmet Kulekci and his son-in-law Hayrettin are the owners of the Hotel Kennedy in Istanbul, and they are the biggest arms and narcotics smugglers in Turkey. As for Fahri Mor and his partner Zeki: Fahri Mor is the owner of the Kent Hotel in Istanbul. His partner Zeki lives in Munich and he procures the weapons and sends them to Turkey."

In a later part of Telemen's statement it is said that Mehmet Zeki had business relations with Bekir Celenk. Hasan Nehir's relations with Celenk are also explained. After discussing the Mehmet Kulekci-Hayrettin Yagci-Bekir Celenk triangle, Telemen gives some other names as well.

After Telemen's statement was published in this newspaper's "Observation" column on 13 October 1980, Kemal Ilicak, the owner of the newspaper TERCUMEN who was also mentioned in the statement, sued us for 35 million Turkish lira for compensation at the Zeytinburnu Court of first instance. He also sued us at another court, the combined press court. My lawyer, Orhan Apaydin, and I asked Telemen's statement to be brought from the Izmir Second Criminal Court and studied.

The Izmir Second Criminal Court informed us that the file was missing. After my lawyer, Orhan Apaydin, was arrested in connection with the peace committee trial, his brother, Burhan Apaydin, came to the court sessions. Burhan Apaydin applied to the Justice Ministry and asked that the file be found. Following a long search and many difficulties the file was found and sent to the Istanbul Combined Press Court. The handwritten statement by Telemen emerged from the file. Reading the statement in amazement the court realized that many people who were mentioned were later involved in smuggling cases. If this statement had not been read these truths would not have been known and they would have remained in dusty files.

Let us go back to the book, "The Heroin Trail." The book says that Mehmet Kulekci was the owner of the Pierre Loti Hotel. Do you know who the latest owner of the hotel is? It is Bekir Celenk. The Bekir Celenk-Mehmet Kulekci link is obvious.

Let us look at this complicated and dizzying traffic of people and events once again: Agca received a fake passport from Omer Mersan at the (Vitosa) Hotel in Sofia. Mersan worked at the Vardar Company in Munich. Before shooting the Pope, Agca called that company from Italy. The owners of the company, Selami and Bekir Gultas, were smuggling partners of Abuzer Ugurlu. So clear and specific were the links.

Mehmet Kulekci was Bekir Celenk's partner. Furthermore, Celenk bought the Pierre Loti Hotel in Istanbul from Kulekci. That link is as obvious as that as well.

Bekir Celenk was also the business partner of Ali Galip Kayiran, a relative of Kayiran and the deputy director of customs at Haydarpasa. That link is obvious too.

The name of Kulekci brought us to these links. Why was Kulekci's name in Ipekci's notebook? We must find an answer to that.

Mehmet Kulekci's son-in-law, Hayrettin Yagci, was tried together with the Ugurlu family for arms smuggling during the 12 March coup [1971] but was released in the 1979 general amnesty. The name of Yagci was also mentioned in a letter Ibrahim Telemen sent to me a few days before he mysteriously died or disappeared. Yagci was connected both to Ugurlu and to Celenk.

Hayrettin Yagci is being tried today together with the Ugurlus. Hayrettin Yagci is also involved in other cases together with Huseyin Ugurlu, with Osman Imamoglu also known as "Osman from Cayirova" and with deputy customs director Ali Galip Kayiran. Why was the name of Mehmet Kulekci, Hayrettin Yagci's father-in-law, written in Ipekci's notebook?

At this stage, no concrete evidence has been found linking these events with the murder. We tackled this matter because we are tackling all such events. We wanted to define the circles of Celenk and the Ugurlu family in the smuggling files and the circles of those mentioned in the Agca incident.

For this reason, we looked into the connections of Selami and Bekir Gultas, the owners of the Vardar Company. Their names were mentioned together with that of Yasar Yamak in file number 1982/613 of the Ankara Martial Law Command Military Prosecutor. Two more interesting names also appeared in that file: those of Halil and Okkes Havar. The Havars are connected with Huseyin Cil who is in turn connected with Henry Aslanyan who was arrested in Italy. Aslanyan was in turn connected with Bekir Celenk. That is how the chain of smugglers developed.

The Gultas' were part of the smuggling chain with Abuzer Ugurlu as well as the smuggling chain with Celenk. The Gultas' were partners with smuggler Gazi Cucu who lived in Bulgaria. File number 1982/774 of the Ankara Martial Law Command Military Prosecutor mentions Selami and Bekir Gultas as well as Gazi Cucu.

Look where we arrived from the name of Kulekci. Kulekci who was mentioned in Ipekci's notebook is Hayrettin Yagci's father-in-law. Yagci was Bekir Celenk's partner. Yagci was also Ugurlus' partner. Ugurlu was also partners with the Gultas'. Omer Mersan used to work at Gultas' Vardar Company in Munich. It was Omer Mersan who supplied Agca with a fake passport.

Let us and to this picture Agca's confessions to the Italian prosecutor Martella: "I was helped by Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu."

Could the Ipekci murder be connected with the smugglers? The incident was viewed differently before the Agca-Mersan-Gultas-Ugurlu link emerged. Has the time not come to view the incident from the viewpoint of another link as well, that of Kulekci-Yagci-Celenk-Ugurlu? It is a possibility, one in a thousand, one in a million, one in a hundred, whatever! Since Kulekci's name was in Ipekci's notebook, that trail must be followed as well. But only if, unlike in the past, time is not wasted and certain files are not misplaced.

[2 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--It is necessary to see what issues Abdi Ipekci was interested in before his death. Maybe that can give us some leads. Was Ipekci a random victim of the terrorism that had escalated to its apex at the time, or did his murder have a special reason? If there was a special reason, what was it? The smuggling files? A file about a certain minister that had reached his hands? It is impossible to force these possibilities to get at the truth.

Ipekci's widow, Sibel, said that in his last days, Ipekci kept on talking about corruption and unjustified gains. She said a week before he died Ipekci said in a worried and concerned voice: "What will become of Sedat? What will become of Nukhet?" meaning their children.

Sibel Ipekci said: "I was very tense in those days and he used to reassure me; so when I heard him say that, I was worried." Had Ipekci been threatened a week before he was murdered? He never talked about his job at home. Why had he suddenly voiced his concern about the future of his children?

Let us go back for a moment: half an hour before he was killed Ipekci told Turhan Aytul that he was going to make a very important speech the next day. He said the same thing to Orhan Tokatli in Ankara before boarding the 1630 flight for Istanbul. And a week before his death, he expressed concern and worry to his wife. Was the "important speech" he was going to make in connection with the sale of the newspaper? What had the people who were interested in buying the paper in those days talked about with MILLIYET's owner, Ercument Karacan? Who were these people? Had a young businessman from Malatya and a relative of his, a contractor, contacted Karacan for this reason? How many times did Karacan and this Malatya businessman meet?

MILLIYET's Ankara correspondents will remember this very well: the contractor in question had called a correspondent who had written a news report about him and told him: "I was going to buy MILLIYET." He had also voiced some complaints and reproaches.

Naturally, these things do not constitute evidence that the murder was connected with the sale of the newspaper. However, since the motive of the murder is still a mystery and since a link has been established between Agca and the smugglers, should the authorities not reorganize and reassess these facts, looking back? They certainly must but they are not.

The Court Verdict

The court verdict on Agca was given based on the evidence of the day. A lot of evidence has changed since then and many things have happened. The "Agca incident" did not end with the verdict but continued after it. New evidence was unearthed during that time. Therefore, the verdict must be viewed both in the light of the facts and evidence of that time and in the light of the present facts and evidence:

1. The verdict said that Agca killed Ipekci "in accordance with a premeditated plan, by trapping Agca and in cold blood," in light of the present facts and evidence this statement is realistic. However, it is now understood that Agca did not do that on his own.
2. The verdict said that Agca was caught upon a tip. Who tipped the police? It is not clear whether the informer was a single person or a person cooperating with the "state's security units." Agca's friends killed a person called Ramazan Gunduz for being an informer.
3. There is no doubt that Agca was at the scene of the murder. The court established that fact beyond any doubt. The defense lawyer, Erman, had alleged that Yavuz Caylan who was driving the getaway car was not inside the car during the murder and that Caylan informed Agca that Ipekci's car arrived. That means that Caylan was outside the car. It was impossible, as far as time was concerned, for Caylan to tell Agca that Ipekci's car had arrived and then run and get into the getaway car. There must have been a third person in the car. The prosecutor did not investigate this "third person," nor did the defense lawyer. Nor did the court accept the existence of a third person.
4. According to eyewitnesses' reports, "two persons" entered the car from the back door. And there were already other people in the car. If Yavuz Caylan was in the driver's seat, who was the third person who ran and got into the car with Agca. This issue is not clarified in the court decision.
5. Lawyer Sahir Erman requested that the bank accounts of Agca be investigated. The court rejected his request giving the following reason:

"It is impossible for the suspect to have deposited such great sums in the banks. Given the circumstances, there is no need to determine who deposited these sums by analyzing the signatures. This point has not been investigated. It is a known fact that no action is taken in connection with a person who deposited money in the name of other individuals but the necessary identification check is made in the event the money is withdrawn. Even if one is able to determine that the money was not deposited by the suspect it will be impossible to determine who deposited it. The presence of these persons who cannot be identified will, in no way, affect the nature of the offense or whether the suspect is guilty. It is impossible for our court to clarify these aspects of the investigation which have remained in the dark."

6. It is most beneficial to meticulously investigate once again the bank accounts which the court decision said "remained in the dark." It is these bank accounts that will clarify the Ipekci case.

The following section is included in the decision encompassing the reason.

"It has been impossible to expose that the action was prepared by a secret organization given the existing evidence in the file."

The preceding paragraph states: "The military prosecutor's office, which is continuing the investigation in connection with Mehmet Sener, believes that it is possible to determine whether or not others were involved in preparing or planning this action by confirming these points."

It can be seen that the court left "an open door" on the issue. The court expressed the view that the evidence at that stage did not give the impression that the murder had been committed by an organization, but that through new investigations on the issue such an opinion was to be formed.

8. The court decision did not refer to the "autopsy report." There was no mention of an "experts' report" in the decision either. The decision mentioned an "experts' report." [as published] This report stated that it has been determined that the bullets that killed Ipekci were fired from a single weapon. However, according to the minutes, it was also determined that 11 shells and a bullet were found at the scene of the crime. Agca said that he used a weapon with an 8-bullet capacity. If we presume that a bullet was in the barrel of the weapon, the weapon used at the incident has a capacity of 9 bullets. Agca said that he fired "4-5" times. Erman determined that 7 shots were fired. Twelve shells were found at the scene of the crime. All these are contradictory. Which of these facts are true? This has not been determined.

9. An experts' report determined that the bullets that killed Ipekci were fired from the same weapon. The court relied on this fact. However, it is also clear that more than five shots were fired at Ipekci, some of which failed to meet their mark. Shots fired from one weapon killed Ipekci and shots fired from a second weapon went astray. This is certain. The shells and bullet picked up at the scene of the incident point to this fact. The following is not definite: that the bullets that killed Ipekci were fired from Agca's weapon. This is because the weapon was not found, and with the weapon missing the fingerprints on it were not determined. It is evident that there is a "third person" involved in the incident. Both Agca and the "third person" fired. It is a known fact that Agca is not a good marksman. As a matter of fact, he failed to hit the Pope as well. In contrast, Oral Celik is an excellent marksman.

It is evident that two pistols were used in the incident. These are the facts that are clear. What is not clear is who used the weapon that murdered Ipekci. Maybe Agca used the weapon and maybe someone else did. The weapon is missing. Agca and Caylan did everything in their power to prevent the weapon from being found; and it is still missing. However, there is Mehmet Sener, who has been captured. It has been months now that he is to be extradited from Switzerland to Turkey.

Agca is a terror tool to whom various organizations have given weapons. He is one of the three persons used as the hitting force in the Ipekci murder. He is also one of those who fired. All these are evident. The court's decision on Agca's position at the scene of the crime also corresponds to the evidence. What is missing is determining the presence of the third person. The police, the prosecutor's office and Erman should have brought forth evidence on the issue. No evidence was brought by either of the three sources. The court sufficed with what it had.

These are findings in connection with the "phase of execution or action." Only through this channel can the organization to which Agca belongs be reached. The court kept this channel open. The issues that have to be investigated now will come forth only if this channel is opened. In order to achieve this a preliminary investigation should be conducted on the issue instead of "renewing the trial" as the judicial parlance goes.

Initiating this preliminary investigation will cause the Ipekci shooting to be reopened. There is an important suspect for this. Mehmet Sener. Sener is under arrest in Switzerland. If the procedures are completed he will be extradited to Turkey. The investigation will begin with the interrogation of Sener and will extend to all these files.

Mehmet Sener was captured in Zurich, Switzerland on 22 February 1982. He was together with Abdullah Catli. Catli, from the beginning of the incident, was an important person. However, "extradition procedures" in connection with Catli were somehow not initiated. Catli was later released. It is impossible to understand this. Was a file on Catli sent by the Justice Ministry to our embassy in Berne? If not, why not?

Catli is one of the suspects sought by the Ankara Martial Law Command. It is very difficult to understand why a suspect being sought in Turkey was released in Switzerland due to "lack of evidence" after being apprehended! What kind of correspondence was exchanged in connection with Catli? Why was Catli released? All these are unknown.

After Sener was captured by the Swiss police on 22 February 1982, Sibel Ipekci, the wife of Ipekci, applied to the foreign and justice ministries and asked about procedures in connection with the extradition of Sener. A Foreign Ministry statement on 11 March 1982 stated that the period given for Sener's extradition ended on 24 March and that the file in connection with Sener has been sent to our Berne embassy on 9 March. The Justice Ministry gave a similar reply to Mrs Ipekci. A year has gone by but Sener has not been extradited to Turkey!

[3 Jan 83 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Ankara--There are many key figures in the Agca affair. The most important one among them is Mehmet Sener.... Sener was caught in Zurich on 22 February 1982. It is a great loss that he has not been brought to Turkey and interrogated since then. How did Sener flee Turkey? Or to put it more correctly, how was he kidnapped abroad? Did he leave the country by land? Did he fly? If so, who was with him on the airplane? If Sener's escape abroad is clarified many clues will have been uncovered. However, he is not being brought back to the country.

Agca admits to his connection with Bekir Celenk. This connection began, he says, at the (Vitosa) Hotel in Sofia. Did Celenk protect Agca and his friends abroad too? In West Germany or in Switzerland? These things must be studied and investigated. For example, who had worked at the hotel in Zurich owned by Bekir Celenk's friend, Samir Arosyan? Who stayed there? Who worked in Celenk's Thrace company in West Germany? These things must be investigated. Who are the people who protected and sheltered Sener abroad? For this, the documents of the Vardar Company in Munich must be studied. Who worked in this company? Who gave Agca, Sener and Oral Celik money to live on and even to spend freely in Europe? An investigation along those lines would unravel a very important knot.

A Turk called Mahmut Inan helped Mehmet Sener financially. Who was this Mahmut Inan? Is he the same Mahmut Inan as the one who got passport TR-E226041 from the Tokat security directorate on 3 July 1979? What does he do abroad this Mahmut Inan? And why did he help Mehmet Sener? That is another issue which must be investigated.

Another key personality in the Agca affair is Oral Celik. Oral Celik was the leader of Agca and his friends in Malatya. Celik is a militant 1.65 meters tall. His eyelids are swollen. He is dark. His head stoops forward when he walks. He has sunken cheeks. His brother Mustafa Celik is known as an idealist militant. Oral Celik was being sought in connection with the murder of leftist teacher Nevzat Yildirim in Malatya. The relevant indictment is dated 5 May 1982. Its number is 982/982898. The case's file number at the martial law court is 1982/4109. During that case, Fahri Yuksel, Dogan Sari, Nazmi Poyraz and Hamid Gokenc were tried as suspects. Oral Celik was on the run. We are familiar with the name of Gokenc: he is the elementary school teacher who took Agca and Oral Celik to Nevsehir and gave them shelter in his home. He is the rightist militant who gave Agca his own passport.

Oral Celik has definite authority within the idealist sector. Naturally, he also has a great following. He was close friends with Mehmet Dogan, a security official. Mehmet Dogan was stationed in Istanbul. On what dates? On the dates that Agca was kidnapped? Who is this Mehmet Dogan? How did he meet Oral Celik? How long did their friendship last?

These things must also be investigated. They certainly must. There were several incidents in Malatya in which Oral Celik's group was involved. Many links and connections are observed in these incidents. Who supported the Malatya idealist youth association financially? That is a very important point to investigate. It is this issue which will shed some light on the Agca-Celik link. Who deposited money for Agca at the Malatya Agriculture Bank on 15 January, before the Ipekci murder? The answer can only come from the investigation file about Oral Celik and his friends.

Immediately after the Ipekci murder, Agca went to Malatya and met Oral Celik. He then drew 50,000 Turkish lira from the Agriculture Bank. Agca and Celik were together in Malatya all the time. They were together during the day; they were together at night. The clue for the Ipekci murder must be sought in Malatya. The clue will be found when the financial supporters of the idealist youth association in Malatya are found.

Another incident that occurred in Malatya is the murder of Mayor Hamid Fendoglu. Why was that murder not solved? Who sent Fendoglu parcel bombs? With whom was Fendoglu arguing during the last period of his life? Were these things investigated? The "Fendoglu affair" must be solved.

Another key figure in the Agca affair is Abdullah Catli. He is being sought by the Ankara Martial Law Command military prosecutor in connection with the Nationalist Action Party and idealist organizations case. Catli was captured with Mehmet Sener in Switzerland on 22 February 1982 but was later released "for lack of evidence."

Catli was also involved in helping Agca escape. Mehmet Kursun, who gave shelter to Agca in his house, said that Oral Celik told him that Agca hid in Abdullah Catli's house for some time. It is interesting that Catli was captured in Switzerland together with Mehmet Sener. Naturally, this is the interesting aspect of the matter. Another interesting aspect of the matter is that Catli was released immediately. Why and how was Catli released? It is not possible to comprehend, or explain this.

Mehmet Sener, Oral Celik and Abdullah Catli... these three names are important. All three of them are in Europe. One of them was never caught. He is Oral Celik. Another was caught and released: Abdullah Catli. The one that was captured and is still in detention is Mehmet Sener. Together with these, another important name also emerges: Hamid Gokenc. Gokenc is involved in almost every incident. He is involved in Malatya, Ankara and Nevsehir. He is close to both Agca and Oral Celik; he knows much. Numerous clues will be obtained if he talks or is forced to talk. He is another key man.

Mehmet Sener's brother Hasan Huseyin Sener, who is studying at the Capa Medical School has been in the shadows. He is also an important name within these circles. The Renault car with license plate "34 RF 601," that was used to bring Agca to Ankara after he escaped from prison is registered under the name of Hasan Huseyin Sener. He must be one of their most reliable men as they resorted to his car. If the necessary intelligence and assessment work had been conducted on the day Agca escaped, Agca would have immediately been found in Hasan Huseyin Sener's car.

We did not see any record indicating that Hasan Huseyin Sener was interrogated in connection with the incident of Agca's escape. Hasan Huseyin Sener is still at large. The care that was used in aiding Agca [to] escape is in Istanbul.

Musa Serdar Celebi is another important person connected with the incident. Celebi is related to [former] Nationalist Action Party [NAP] leader Turkes. This relation is documented with letters and bank statements.

The names of Abdullah Catli, Mehmet Celik and Serdar Celebi emerged as soon as Agca was captured. In his article dated 27 May 1981, Digos indicated these names. Catli and Sener were caught on 22 February 1982. Therefore, Catli's name was previously known. However, he was released. It was impossible to understand the Catli incident.

The Agca incident is like an equation with many unknowns. Hence, there are assumptions and political calculations based on these assumptions in connection with this incident. Our path follows files, statements, indictments and sentences. We are attempting to construct bridges among statements, indictments, sentences and events. We want to arrive at a point led by evidence.

All Agca's contacts before and after the Ipekci murder are with the idealist rightist sector. No one can refute this. It is impossible to refute it. Agca's associate Oral Celik is an idealist rightist militant; so is Hamid Gokenc. Those who helped him escape from prison and gave him shelter in Ankara are all rightists. The individuals and circles that Agca has relations with abroad are also part of the idealist rightist sector. The place that was frequented before and immediately after the Ipekci murder was the NAP district headquarters in Aksaray. While these pieces of evidence are in the open, the relationship between the assassination and the members of NAP will surely be investigated.

Are there people who are trying to cause the incident to deviate from this line? Yes, there are--many of them. That is why, it is necessary to look at articles--commentaries without proof--published in the rightist press. These proofless commentaries give one a certain idea. As in the past, today, too, there are people who wish to cause the incident to deviate.

How did Agca go to Bulgaria? What route did he use? This has not been solved yet. In his second statement, Agca said that he received assistance from Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu. The connection between Omer Mersan, who provided Agca's passport, and Ugurlu was previously determined. The investigation must be pursued at this point. For this, Bekir Celenk must be interrogated in Turkey. Would Bulgaria, which is covered up to its neck in smuggling, extradite Celenk to Turkey? It is certain that it will try its best not to extradite him. However, bringing Celenk to Turkey must be a primary goal. It is necessary to bring Celenk face to face with the "film maker from NAP," who introduced Celenk to Abuzer Ugurlu and Sedar Celebi. This encounter would constitute another key factor of the incident. The film maker mentioned in the NAP indictment is Berker Inanoglu.

[4 Jan 83 pp 1, 9]

[Text] In the news conference he held in Sofia, Bekir Celenk has said that he met Sedar Celebi through a filmmaker friend affiliated with the NAP. In this connection let us take a look at the indictment in the trial against the NAP and idealist organizations being held in Ankara. On pages 389 and 394, it is noted that the filmmaker, Berker Inanoglu, collected 535,000 lira for the NAP. This money was raised as follows: 25,000 lira from Sinasi Bilgin; 85,000 from Ali Dinckok; 250,000 from Sabahattin Sungurlu; 75,000 from Yakup Kefeli; and 100,000 from Sabriye Nacar.

According to statements by Musa Serdar Celebi, detained in connection with the Agca case and his partner from Tumpas Company, Yilma Durak, a contribution to the NAP was also collected from a businessman called Fikri Erdos. Erdos was mentioned in the trial of Cevher Ozden, the owner of the now-bankrupt Kastelli firm, as the person who owed money to the firm. It is also known that Erdos was engaged in the import of iron from Bulgaria.

A document attached to the indictment against the NAP notes that a person named A. Kayiran donated 50,000 lira to the NAP. This point is very significant. Ali Galip Kayiran, whose name I have already mentioned several times, is a smuggling accomplice of the Ugurlu brothers as well as Bekir Celenk. If the person mentioned as A. Kayiran is not Ali Galip Kayiran, an immediate effort should be made to find out from Inanoglu, the filmmaker friend of Bekir Celenk, who he is.

Both from the above-mentioned document and document No 164-165 attached to the NAP indictment, it can be seen that Mehmet Erzen made a donation of 20,000 lira to the NAP. Who is this Mehmet Erzen? Could it be that he is the one and same Mehmet Zeki Erzen sometimes mentioned as M. Zeki? If this is right, the interesting point is revealed that Mehmet Zeki Erzen is the smuggling partner of Ibrahim Telemen according to his written statement made in 1972. In case these two are not the same and Mehmet Erzen is simply the name of an honorable businessman from Istanbul, then the matter can be considered closed. However, if this person is the same smuggler called Mehmet Erzen, then an investigation should be conducted to identify him. This investigation could be conducted among people who collected money for the NAP.

Mehmet Sandir is one such person collecting money for the NAP. The name Mehmet Erzin was first seen in one of his notes. Mehmet Sandir is Musa Serdar Celebi's partner in the Tumpas Company. Let us now make a new effort to see the connection between these names: in his statement in Sofia, Bekir Celenk said that he had come to know Musa Serdar Celebi through a filmmaker friend of his. According to the NAP indictment this friend is Berker Inanoglu. Thus the Inanoglu-Celebi-Celenk relationship is established. Musa Serdar Celebi, in his turn, is an associate of the Tumpas Company and has a close relationship with NAP leader Turkes. Mehmet Sander is a founding partner of that company and so is Yilma Durak. If A. Kayiran who made a donation to the NAP is the person known as Ali Galip Kayiran then a new relationship is born; that of Kayiran with the NAP. Kayiran's connection with Celenk is known as we saw earlier. Kayiran's relationship with the Ugurlu brothers is known through court findings.

What is left unknown is only whether Mehmet Erzen and Mehmet Zeki are the same persons. This could be verified by Berker Inanoglu and Mehmet San. Bekir Celenk says in Sofia that it was a filmmaker friend of his who introduced Sedar Celebi to him.

Musa Serdar Celebi is a key personality. In fact he is the most important person in this case. His name is already known to the (Digos) Italian police organization and yet he is allowed to hold a news conference in Bonn. The same is true for Bekir and Selami Gultas, the owners of the Vardar firm in Munich. The German police take no interest in this firm, at a time when the prosecutor of a military court in Istanbul is prosecuting Selami and Bekir Gultas for their connection with Ugurlu brothers in smuggling. The FRG police are tolerant and as a result, Omer Mersan, Celebi and the Gultas' have remained free in the FRG for a long time.

Serdar Celebi was partners with Yilma Durak and Mehmet Sandir. We mentioned their company before: Tumpas. That Yilma Durak obtained weapons from Osman Inanoglu, alias "Osman from Cayirova," was mentioned in Inanoglu's statement to the police. Inanoglu was tried with Abuzer Ugurlu for arms smuggling. There is another chain: Celebi-Durak-Osman from Cayirova-Ugurlu. As you see all the connections are intertwined.

The fact that Bekir Celenk said that he met Musa Serdar Celebi through his "filmmaking friend from the NAP," forced us to ask some questions about this filmmaker, Berker Inanoglu. Inanoglu's connections with the NAP have been documented. He was detained in connection with that for some time.

We checked the indictment against the NAP once again because of Inanoglu. Among those donating to the NAP (page 393), were Mehmet Baldoktu, Refik Burunguz, Halit Narin, Nuh Kusculu, Ahmet Arayici, Durali-Eyup, Eksioglu-Mehmet Kucukcelik. In another document are the names of Emin Hattat, one of the owners of the famous Hemaconglomeration of companies; Mehmet Yazar, the chairman of the Union of Chambers; Cemil Ozgur who was arrested for taking bribes in the sugar company and who was subsequently released. The same documents say that talks were held with businessman Idris Yamanturk in connection with financial support.

Yahya Bag, Niyazi Adiguzel, Omer Boyar, Mr Nejat (his family name was not written, we did not know who he is), Dr. Kilic (it is not clear whether it is Dundar Kilic), Hilmi Perek, Mete Has (the famous businessman), Orhan Aker (the famous businessman, owner of the Maksim Nightclub, dealer in iron), Sadik Ozgur, Ercan Holding, Azmi Selci, Necati Arslan, Uzeyir Garip, Necmettin Ozdemir, Hilmir Sahin, Ahmet Yasar Cimirli, Husnu Onay, Ahmet Malaz, Fikret Agac, Kaya Turget (medicine factory owner), Hayrettin Karaca, Ibrahim Bodur (chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry), Ali Kocman (chairman of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association), Haci Ahmet Baldoktu, Ergin Demiroren (brother of Erdogan Demiroren, one of the new owners of the daily MILLIYET), Profilo Holding, Feyyaz Berker (former chairman of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association), Nihat Gokyigit, Necdet Ozertuna, Eyup Elvan, Akseller, Komili, Hasan Genc, Kemal Cabioglu (400,000 Turkish lira), N. Asim Uslu, M. Tunay Cifter, Recai Arslan, Necdet Sarman, Mehmet Esen, Hasan Genc, Ahmet Muslu (unionist, one of the first founders of the Turkish Labor Party), Feyzi Tasyar.

Today, it cannot be said that some of those people donated money voluntarily. It can be said that some businessmen made donations out of fear during those days of terror. We are not concerned with that part of the issue, what we are interested in is the fact that part of these donations were given to Musa Serdar Celebi. There are two persons who best know of this financial connection: Berker Inanoglu and Musa Serdar Celebi.

And "the filmmaking friend from the NAP" who introduced Celenk to Serdar Celebi was Berker Inanoglu!

[5 Jan 83 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Ankara--A letter allegedly sent to NAP leader Turkes by Agca had caused Turkes to react very strongly during the trial against the NAP and its auxiliary organizations. If such a letter existed, was it written by Agca? Since nobody seemed to have the original was it merely a technical trick?

The photocopy of that letter which began with "my honorable leader" had been sent to numerous people and establishments by anonymous persons. MILLIYET sent a photocopy of the letter to the Ankara Martial Law military prosecutor and a technical team set up by the prosecutor compared the handwriting with the handwriting in Agca's other letters.

The contents of the letter were as follows:

Munich

My Honorable Leader,

First let me extend to you my deepest feelings of respect and express my endless gratitude for your warm and fatherly interest. I have no difficulties thanks to the help of my idealist brothers who have accepted me as one of their own. Proud of being a Turk, I have the inner peace of carrying out every honorable duty that befalls me on the road to our lofty cause. May God protect and exalt the Turks.

With my deepest respects

Mehmet Ali Agca

The Ankara Martial Law military prosecutor sent the photocopy of that letter to the president of the graphic arts department of the Istanbul State College of Applied Arts asking them to study it. A report dated 21 October 1981 and prepared by a member of the department staff and his assistant says:

We have studied and compared the photocopy which measures 13.2 cm x 16.4 cm and which is technically deficient (the letter is crooked in the photocopy, the development is stale [as published] and the photography material is stale [as published] of a letter which measures 11 cm x 12.4 cm, which is dateless, which has the word "Munich" written at the top right hand corner, which begins with "My honorable leader" and ends with "my deepest respects."

We have concluded that the signature in the photocopy and in other documents are identical, that the calligraphy in the newspaper clippings and other documents in the file No 2 dated 14 May 1981 and the calligraphy in the photocopy of the letter sent from Munich are identical, consequently, that the handwriting and signature in the photocopy belong to Mehmet Ali Agca. Our conclusions were reached following the study of the words, syllables and letters and their connections even though the photocopy looks like trick photography because the original was folded twice.

The military prosecutor had the security directorate general police laboratory carry out an identical study as well. The expertise report dated 23 September 1981 and numbered 1981/561 says:

The necessary study has been carried out and the observations thereof are as follows:

In studying the photocopy which starts with "My honorable leader," we have observed that the handwriting is harmonious, the space between the lines are fixed, that the tracing of the words and signature is such that it negates the impression that the whole or part of the letter is the result of trick photography.

In conducting a comparative study between the contents of the letters which begins with "My honorable leader," and other intimate writings by Agca on various occasions, with the aid of a "binocular" microscope and other laboratory equipment as well as photographs taken, blown up and multiplied according to the "criminal photography" method, complete harmony was observed from the following aspects:

A) The structural character of all common letters; B) habitual and individual characteristics; C) the starting and ending points of circular letters; D) the type and position of punctuation; E) spelling mistakes; F) calligraphy factors and lay-out.

Harmony was also observed between the signature bottom righthand corner of the above-mentioned letter and Mehmet Ali Agca's other signatures from the following viewpoints:

A) The construction of the letter "M" at the beginning of the signature; B) the b-like ending of the letter "M"; C) circular hand movements slanting to the left; D) the curl and line at the end of the signature; E) the slope and direction; and F) smoothness.

Conclusion

The report, which contains these detailed observations, ends with the following conclusion:

1. According to the findings listed in the first paragraph, we have observed that the content and signature of the photocopy, which starts with "My honorable leader," is homogenous and harmonious and indicates no traces of trick photography. We have arrived at the definite conclusion that the document is a photocopy of the original letters.

2. We have determined that there is harmony from all aspects between the writings in the photocopy and Agca's other writings and that the entire contents of the above-mentioned document were written by Agca.

3. On the basis of the harmonious and definite findings of the comparison between the signature at the bottom righthand corner of the document and Agca's other signatures, we have concluded that the signature is genuine and belongs to Agca.

It was three experts of the security directorate general who arrived at this conclusion.

On this subject, we can now take a step forward. Since that date, Agca has prepared new statements in handwriting. It is beneficial to obtain these statements and study them, and also compare Agca's signatures in his bank accounts with that in the letter. The question of whether or not Agca wrote such a letter to the [former] leader of the Nationalist Action Party could shed light on many incidents. Despite the fact that official findings and reports arrived at definite conclusions, it would be beneficial to look at recent statements and deal with the issue again "through further investigation."

It would be beneficial to handle the many-sided unknowns in the Agca case within the framework of the many-sided possibilities.

Official reports and findings prove that the letter sent to Turkes was written by Agca. Turkes, in his turn, fiercely reacts to these arguments.

[6 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--With whom was M. Ali Agca in contact before and after the Abdi Ipekci murder? Where was he staying? In whose company was he? By whom was he protected while on his way from Turkey to Bulgaria, from Bulgaria to various European countries and cities, and in these places? Who paid the expenses? These questions are sufficient to solve the Agca riddle. However, Agca will do all in his power, as he did in Turkey, to either conceal the identity of the individuals or organizations he might be connected with or because of his psychological makeup.

Has an investigation been conducted in connection with Yalcin Ozbek who was in contact with Agca before the murder? Who is Ozbek? What does he do? All these are not clear. The name Ozbek is mentioned in Agca's first statement. In his statement to the military prosecutor on 13 July 1979 Agca said the following:

"I had 35,000 lira at the Aksaray branch of Akbank. I spent all of it. My friend Yalcin Ozbek deposited 150,000 lira in my name at the Aksaray Commercial Bank for us to purchase a plot. I withdrew the money and gave it back to him because he was the one who deposited it."

We have seen earlier that Agca gave contradictory and confusing statements regarding his bank accounts. The first question on his bank accounts was to put to Agca on 10 July. Agca said that the money deposited on 15 January was given to his mother by his uncles. He added:

"I do not know whether or not I have accounts in other banks." Here is another statement in the same line: "I am, as yet, not sure whether I have a bank account in my name."

As can be seen, there is no mention of Yalcin Ozbek here. This name is mentioned 3 days later.

Why does Agca mention the name Yalcin Ozbek on 13 July? Who is Yalcin Ozbek? What is this "plot business?" Why does Ozbek deposit money in Agca's name? No one knows, no one investigates. Military prosecutor Captain Ahmet Koc stated that after the Ipekci murder Agca went straight to the Aksaray Nationalist Action Party [NAP] district office, then he stopped over at the Dali Hotel in Aksaray and picked up his things. Is it not strange that some 6 months after the incident, Agca's belongings were found intact at the Dali Hotel?

In his 13 July statement, Agca did not say that he went to the Aksaray NAP district office. Instead he said that he went straight to the Dali Hotel. However, in a previous statement, Agca said that they went to the Idealist Youth Club which he called "the room with the television" and which is situated in the same building as the NAP office. In his statements, Caylan also said that they went to the NAP office in Aksaray. The Aksaray NAP district office which appeared in Caylan's 8 July statement was somehow taken back in his 12 July statement. It is clear that Agca and Caylan communicated while under detention and then made similar statements.

While in his 10 July statement Agca said: "I left the hotel and went to Malatya either that morning or the next morning. I took the Gazanfer bilge bus to Malatya. I stayed there 20 days, and then I came back to Istanbul." On 6 July he said something else about how he went:

"I left the hotel the day after the incident and went from Aksaray to Taksim. From there I took a communal taxi to Kadikoy. I went to the place where the Izmit-Gebze communal taxis are stationed. I got into the Izmit taxi. I went around Izmit until evening and then took a bus to Ankara. In Ankara, I took the Diyarbakir bus and got off in Gaziantep. From there I went to Malatya. I do not remember how long I stayed in Malatya. I returned to Istanbul after a while and continued my studies."

Let us pause here for a second: two hundred thousand lira was deposited in Agca's account No L 9328 in Yapi Kredi Bank's Gebze branch on 29 December 1978. This means that Agca had a contact in Gebze. Who was he? Who was the one who deposited the money? Did Agca go to Gebze immediately after the murder? He claimed to have been in Izmit till evening. Could he have been in Gebze? This issue should also be investigated. Does Agca have a connection with Gebze? There is a monetary connection. Thus, the Gebze issue is significant.

In one of his statements Agca said that he "stayed in Malayta for about 20 days." He then said that he did not remember how long he stayed in Malatya. All these details [word indistinct] learned from operating partners of Oral Celik, who is a friends of Agca and probably his leader. The clues are in the trial in Elazig. They would come out in a new investigation to be conducted in Malatya.

Another Name: Yilmaz Salman

In the house of Yilmaz Salman, a student in the school of theology, Agca left the bluejeans, grey turtleneck sweater, grey cardigan and black coat he wore the day of the incident. Who is Salman? Why did Agca leave the clothes he wore the day of the murder in his house? This means that they have some kind of friendship. It means that he fully trusts Salman. This is another clue.

Was Yilmaz Salman completely ignorant about the murder? Why did Agca visit Salman in Ankara? What did he talk about? Did he mention the incident? If so, what did he say? If not, what did they talk about? After the murder, Agca might have gone to Malatya first or he might have gone to Gebze before Ankara. Yilmaz Salman was the man he trusted most in Ankara!

There are two persons who have not been stressed as yet: One of them is Yalcin Ozbek, about whom Agca said: "He deposited money in my name," and the other is Yilmaz Salman, in whose house Agca left his clothes. Why weren't these two investigated? Why were they not brought before the court?

Was Minister Gunes Present at the Interrogation

Agca's statements were first heard by the interrogating team. These statements were later hand written by Agca. Minister H. Fehmi Gunes requested that he be videotaped while making these statements. A videotape was sought, but not found. Therefore, he was filmed. The sound tracks and films are supposed to be in the Istanbul security directorate first department safes. It would be beneficial to find them immediately.

Hasan Fehmi Gunes was appointed interior minister 17 days before the Ipekci murder. Gunes said that every possibility regarding the Ipekci murder was dwelt upon. Gunes stated that Istanbul security director Hayri Kozakcioglu (the current Adana governor) informed him of Agca's capture, and that he went to Istanbul to talk about the interrogating team after the interrogation was completed. He said: "My aim was to be sure about the incident. I had been a public prosecutor. I have experience of the issue. The captured suspect might, in future, claim: 'They tortured me, therefore I made these statements.' Therefore, I closely investigated the incident. They brought Agca, they made him talk again. I listened and I was sure. Furthermore, I determined that Agca and Caylan were not tortured."

Adnan Menderes, who was the prime minister at the time, had also closely investigated the attack against Ahmet Emin Yalman, editor-in-chief of VATAN, in 1952. As a matter of fact, in his memoirs published later, Yalman wrote that Menderes had been interested in the incident "like a detective."

[7 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--There is a reason why we mention Huseyin Uzmez and the incident known in our political history as the "Malatya attempt" in connection with the Agca incident. Agca spoke with and asked Uzmez, whom he met in Malatya some 1 1/2 years prior to the Ipekci murder: do you regret having shot Agmet Emin Yalmin? We learned about this meeting from Uzmez' own story.

Let us go back for a moment some 30 years. On 22 November 1952, a youth named Huseyin Uzmez fired seven shots at VATAN's chief editor Ahmet Emin Yalman in front of the post office, and fled from the scene of the incident. Prime Minister Menderes, who was in Malatya at the time, was very interested in the case. Yalman recounts this incident in pages 277 to 314 of the fourth volume of his book of memoirs entitled: "My Recent Experiences," and wrote the following about Menderes:

"Prime Minister Adnan Menderes did not sleep a wink that night and followed the clues like a detective. He was very helpful in locating the owner of the bicycle that was not taken, especially when watchman Osman became involved in the incident. The prime minister's personal interest in the matter played a great role in the rapid resolution of the mystery."

As mentioned by Yalman, the persons involved in the incident were found quickly because of a bicycle left behind at the scene of the incident, and Uzmez surrendered of his own will.

Huseyin Uzmez, who shot Yalman, is currently practicing law in Ankara. He is a person well liked and respected in his environment. Uzmez, who served 10 years in prison because of the incident, graduated from the Ankara law school after he finished serving his term. Until 12 March 1971, his political views were close to the Nationalist Action Party [NAP]. He worked in the higher echelons of the NAP administration. After 12 March 1971, he left the NAP. Since that day, he has received a cool welcome from NAP leaders. In his book of memoirs "Such Suffering," Uzmez explains his sentiments concerning the shooting of Yalman as follows:

"Already on the second day after the incident, I realized that I had committed an error. Both those on our side and on the other side said so. All the newspapers were full of lengthy statements and columns of articles.

"So many giants suddenly shrank and were reduced to nothing. Everyone was afraid of being smeared. After 14 centuries, a miracle of the great prophet was coming true: this case began strangely and will end strangely.

"Within 1 day, we were left all alone.

"But, I had no regrets because I had believed. I was sincere. It was my sincerity that led me to this path. If it were any other way, I would not have been able to endure the long years of disaster. I would not have been able to leave prison: I would have died of my chagrin.

"Hence, when a person is sincere, even if he commits an error, he does not regret it in the end. This is what became a criterion for me--an unchanging criterion formed through my long years of sufferings and my bitter experiences.

"To this end, maybe I am not right in everything I do, but I am sincere in all my deeds."

In his book "Such Suffering," Uzmez described a meeting held in connection with shooting Yalman:

"...There were seven of us at the meeting. We were going to draw lots as to who was going to do the shooting. I mixed the pieces of paper in first lieutenant M.S.'s military hat. A.K. drew his own name.

"A.K. was our leader in Elazig. He could not do it. He was slim, sensitive, quiet and nonassertive. During those years, I was not in a state to understand the secret motives behind such brilliant and lofty appearances. I liked him well. I wanted to assume the duty that fell on him."

Some 600 rightist people were detained throughout the country in connection with the incident. Uzmez and his friends were tried by the Ankara first felony court. These friends were Musa Cagil Diltemiz, Ilhan Ozvivelek, Feyzi Ozer, Serif Dersun, First Lieutenant Muhittin Sanlioglu, Mehmet Susmaz, Yasin Tekayak (singer Zeki Muren's tailor who drowned at the pool of the Izmir Ephesus Hotel), Abdulkadir Akcicek, Aynullah Ozmansur, Osman Yuksel Serdengecti, Necip Fazil Kisakurek, Cevat Rifat Atilhan, Ibrahim Galip Hamikoglu Akcadag and Mustafa Bagislayici. Most of these suspects later entered politics in the ranks of the Nationalist Action Party and the National Salvation Party [NSP].

Ahmet Emin Yalman was the plaintiff at the trial of Uzmez and his friends. Uzmez' lawyer was the NSP's Suleyman Arif Emre, who later became state minister. Yalman's lawyer was Burhan Apaydin. There were harsh arguments between Apaydin and Uzmez and his friends during the trial. Eventually, Uzmez was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. Necip Fazil Kisakurek, Cevat Rifat Atalhan and Osman Yuksel Serdengecti were acquitted. The other suspects received various sentences for setting up an illegal organization. The verdict was approved by the supreme court of appeals headed by Salim Basol. After this incident the nationalists organization, which would later form the nucleus of the NAP, was closed.

The shooting of a well-known journalist by a rightist youth in Malatya and the involvement of a rightist organization in the incident became a sort of political and ideological source of inspiration for the rightist youths in Malatya. Uzmez' honesty and charisma caused youths from Malatya to relate even more warmly to that incident.

Uzmez told the daily GUNES how he had met Agca in an interview by Onder Senyapili from 7 to 13 October 1982, headlined "Turkey's First Rightist Militant Explains the Attempt Against Ahmet Emin Yalman's Life."

I used to know Uzmez during our student days at the law school. I called him on the telephone and then went to his office on Fevzi Cakmak Street to hear him talk about his meeting with Agca.

Agca Asked Uzmez: Do You Regret It?

Huseyin Uzmez told me that whenever he goes to Malatya he visits all rightist and leftist organizations. He said: I speak to all the citizens of Malatya, I do not differentiate between rightist and leftist, Alawite or Sunni.

Uzmez then said: For example, I go to the Turkish Teachers Unity and Solidarity Organization [TOB-DER] and to the idealist hearths. I did not meet Agca at a party meeting but at the Sogutlu Mosque in Malatya. It is a very nice mosque. After prayers, the elders sit on low chairs, drink tea and talk. This is how I met him: I did not know he was Agca. There were several young men there, as well as old. The young ones were asking me questions about politics and so on. I told them that politics were in the hands of incompetents. Politicians consider each other enemies but they are in fact together in everything. They are together when drinking, they are together in the bars, they are together at the assembly; they are only apart in opinion. I do not believe in their opposition against each other either. I answered the youths jokingly. One of them asked me: Do you regret having shot Ahmet Emin Yalman? It was Agca who asked me that question. I answered him: For me to regret it I had to be insincere at the time of the incident. However, I was sincere. I believed that Ahmet Emin Yalman had to be killed. I believed it for my country, for my nation and for my religion. I shot Ahmet Emin and 2 days later I realized that I had made a mistake. For me to regret it I had to be insincere at the time. Had I done it under the influence, encouragement or provocation of someone else, had I acted for something I did not believe in, then I would have regretted it bitterly. It would have killed me. I asked God to forgive me. I told him: My God, you know me, I was sincere at the time, I believed that he had to be killed. If I have sinned, forgive me!

He Was Not Satisfied

Agca was not satisfied with my answer. I said I realized I had made a mistake 2 days after I shot Yalman, because I realized that no problems can be solved by killing people, through the use of arms and terror. It was Yalman's wife who made me realize that.

She came to see me together with the governor. The governor said to me: "Huseyin, do I see you in this situation?" I got angry, I had had arguments with him before. He was called Sefik San. I told him: "What situation are you talking about" I am not a rapist, I am not a murderer, I am not a thief. I shot a man for my ideals, for my cause. It is an honor for me. Is that a bad situation?" The woman was crying. The governor introduced her, saying: "This is Yalman's wife, Rezzan Yalman." I was upset, of course; I was a human being after all. I said: "Lady, don't be upset, I did not want it to be like that, but fate brought us here and your husband died." She said: "No, my husband is not dead, I was crying for you." Then, instead of saying "Thank God, he did not die," I said--and that was probably out of anger to the governor--"do not cry for me, I will get out some day and finish this unfinished business." Was that something to be said there? I did not believe in what I said but I wanted to be a man before the governor.

At that moment I realized that I had made a mistake. What would have happened if the man had died? What had happened now that he had not died? Especially after I was imprisoned, when I began to see the people who had led me in that direction with their articles and words, I realized more and more that I had made a mistake. Many people think that Necip Fazil and Ozman Yuksel are among those who pushed us to this road with their articles and so on. However,

I stress that they are both especially blameless. There was a character called Cevat Rifat. He was supposed to be a general. He had written many articles about masons. Maybe I met one or two persons in my life who were like...like him. At the beginning I used to like him the most. When I saw him up close--he used to pray while unclean and lie abominably--I realized that I had made a mistake.

These words did not satisfy Agca.

Agca Insists

Agca said: "If you knew that Ahmet Emin was not such a man, that he was a person like the one you shot [as published] would you still have felt that you had made a mistake?" [words indistinct] "Yes, because you must react to opinions with opinions only. If you react with weapons then no opinions remain. When terrorism comes, no opinions remain. Killing people does not solve anything. Thousands and tens of thousands of persons who share Ahmet Emin's opinions might emerge. That path is wrong."

[words indistinct] mention you, if you cannot voice your opinions, if you cannot persuade anyone?" I replied: "Look here, I do not like the expression in your eyes, nor do I like your remarks. You look like me 30 years ago. Do not go on this path. Think. I cannot persuade you. Your conscience must do that. Do not do such things. I know young men in your situation because I was one of them. Nobody's advice is effective. You must find the advice and the right thing in your conscience. Your head is in the clouds now. Whatever I tell you, you will think I am afraid or cautious, but it is not so. This path leads to an impasse. I spent 10 years in prison. It is a terrible place, you might die there. Would that not be a waste? Young men like you are hard to find." "No," he said, "I am not asking for a specific reason. I know you and you are a myth in my eyes. I was sad to hear that you repented, that is why I asked."

Our conversation ended there. After a long time when I saw his picture in the newspapers as the man who killed Ipekci I remembered him.

In His Statements Agca Says He Is Sad, Not Repentant

I interrupted Uzmez' remarks and told him that in his statements Agca used to say that he was not repentant but sad. Uzmez was surprised, then said that Agca must have remembered his own remarks.

Let us go back for a moment to Agca's statements. His first statement: "I am sad that I killed Ipekci but I do not regret it, because I believe that I fulfilled humanity even if it was through a murder." In another statement he said: "I am sad because of this incident. I am not using the term 'repent' because this involves a self-derogatory element. That is why I am not using that term. I will only say I am sad.

Agca tried to be like Uzmez. His remarks in his first statements are almost identical with Uzmez' remarks at the Sogutlu Mosque in Malatya.

[8 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--People from Malatya frequently visit lawyer Huseyin Uzmez, who is also from Malatya, in Ankara. Uzmez has his practice in an office on Fevzi Cakmak Street. Mostly he deals with criminal cases. He was the first one Kemal Caylan went to. Kemal Caylan is the father of Yavuz Caylan who was arrested in connection with the Ipekci affair.

Kemal Caylan asked Uzmez to defend his son. Uzmez refused because he liked and respected Ipekci. On Ipekci, Uzmez said: "Whatever article I sent to him he published without any changes. We had a friendship, a friendship in absentia. Furthermore, I respected him a lot. Yes, he had leftist tendencies. A social democrat. A very sensible man. He was the last person to be shot in Turkey. Really. I was sad. I pitied him. But I knew that the person who killed him-- I did not know whether he was a rightist or a leftist--felt the way I felt 30 years ago. I knew that he was convinced that he had done something for his country, for his nation, or for humanity, for socialism or for religion. I knew that he was sincere.

Uzmez said that a friend of his from Malatya, Osman Pehlivan--his family name must be Kaymak--had introduced him to another man from Malatya, Kemal Caylan who had said: I am Yavuz Caylan's father. My son was the driver. He did not know anything. He swore to me, he was crying that he did not know anything. He [not further specified] made him get into the car and told him he had to go certain places. My son was so unprepared that in a daze he made a mistake and returned to the site of the incident.

Uzmez said that Caylan convinced him that his son did not know anything about it. Uzmez went on: He asked me "to intervene" on his son's behalf. I said "How can I intervene?" I could not do anything as a lawyer and I did not want to, anyway. I did not want to be involved. I was interested in his file, though. But I could not do anything, he got 10 years.

Had Caylan made a mistake and returned via Emlak Street, which is now called Abdi Ipekci Street, to Karakol Street where Ipekci used to live? That is what Kemal Caylan said. A similar story was told by Sibel Ipekci's aunt and cousin. They were ringing the bell of the house 5 to 10 minutes after the incident when they heard two people who were emerging from a white car say: "Ipekci has been wounded, is he dead?"

Both the stories prove the following. The necessary security measures were not taken in the area after the incident. Curious passersby surrounded Ipekci's car. Therefore, no fingerprints could be identified from the body of the car. Traffic was flowing easily at the site of the murder. Maybe Caylan and Agca returned to the site of the murder, as Caylan's father says. It is impossible not to be astonished, not to be angry, not to be enraged.

In connection with Hasan Huseyin Sener, Mehmet Sener's brother, Uzmez said: Hasan Huseyin Sener was a student at the Istanbul medical school. Maybe you have never seen him, he is a very clean boy. He is a very bright and clean boy. Therefore, I asked him: "What sort of a person is Agca? Is he connected with

international organizations?" I do not know whether he was sincere in his answers or not but he said: Believe me, Agca is a Muslim, a nationalist, a trustworthy person who would not make mistakes, a very bright person." He admired Agca. That is the information I have about Agca's psychology.

Uzmez said that he reminded Hasan Huseyin Sener that 600,000 lira was seized in Agca's house, and continued: To this Sener replied that this was a misunderstanding and that this is the money he earned from a business transaction. Sener added: He even told me what it was all about, but I do not remember now what it was.

Uzmez added that he received an invitation from an organization in Switzerland, and when Sener heard about it he phoned him. Uzmez continued: He told me on the phone: You will probably be asked some questions there. I answered: I will tell them whatever I believe. I am not the kind of person who says things he does not believe in. I tell only what I know, what I believe. He replied: You praised Abdi Ipekci so much--in the serial on Ipekci by Uzmer published in the newspaper GUNES--that I was sorry about it. I replied: What is there to be sorry about? Why do you feel this way if you are not interested in the matter? He replied: I am unhappy because my brother has been involved in the incident although he had nothing to do with it, and he is now suffering for it.

Hasan Huseyin Sener is known as an idealist by his friends. This is known by the police as well as his friends. Also, the car in which Agca escaped from Istanbul to Ankara belonged to Hasan Huseyin Sener. It is no wonder that Hasan Huseyin Sener admired Agca. If he did not, he would not have provided his own car for the escape despite the dangers involved. Though this is true, he has not been captured. No one questioned him about it then and nobody does so today!

Though some rounds of 9 mm ammunition were found in Yavuz Caylan's house, no investigation was conducted on these. Neither was this subject brought up in investigations conducted later on.

We understood from what Uzmez said that Kemal Caylan came to Uzmez as he was looking for an attorney to take on his son's defense. In this case Yavuz Caylan was defended by two retired military judges who served in the 12 March 1971 [military intervention] period: Colonel Ferruh Senerdem and Colonel Coskun Dundar. During that time, the two retired military judges were also the defense attorneys for Abuzer Ugurlu and his friends involved in the case known as the "godfather's operation."

Since these two lawyers have in the past served as judges, it could be expected that in case the Ipekci file is reopened, they would reveal who proposed that they take over Caylan's defense. We hope that these two retired judges will do a service to justice by revealing this fact.

Both Agca and Caylan appeared before the court dressed in new suits. It was curious that the neckties and suits were the same color and differed only in tone. Who provided them with these shirts, neckties and suits? How many people did this?

[9 Jan 83 pp 1, 9]

[Text] Ankara--There was an apparent psychological connection between Huseyin Uzmer from Malatya, who tried to kill [former Istanbul daily VATAN editor] Ahmet Emin Yalman in front of the PTT building, and Mehmet Ali Agca, also from Malatya, who killed Ipekci. Within this framework Agca and Uzmez met at the court of the Sogutlucami mosque in Malatya. Uzmer was worried and concerned as he saw in Agca a person facing his own psychological situation of 30 years ago.

The common basis in their acts is their unlimited hatred against masonry. Uzmez said that he admired Cevat Rifat [Atilhan]. This could mean that he supported Cevat Rifat's serials against masons. It should be noted that Turan Ozbay, Agca's defense lawyer, based his defense on attacks against the mason movement and the Rotary Club. However, both Agca and his lawyer were wrong, since Ipekci was not a mason and he was not a member of the Rotary Club. The extreme rightwing militants who were against masonry and Zionism had chosen a wrong target in Ipekci.

Was Agca an armed rightwing militant who was politically brainwashed? Or was he a hired murderer? Uzmez believed that Agca was involved in Ipekci's killing as a result of political brainwashing. Uzmez added: I am not sure but maybe later on Agca established a certain contact with international organizations. Uzmez said that Agca was very happy with these later developments since he felt that he had the world at his finger tips. Uzmez added: Such a person could cooperate with anyone as long as he believed that his cause was being served.

Another probability is that Agca was the man who was used by various secret organizations. It could be that he was not even aware to what purpose he was being used. Nevertheless the fact remains that Agca was a rightwing idealist. All his friends, those who helped him escape from prison, those who sheltered him after he escaped from prison, here and in the FRG later on, are all rightwing idealists. The last place Agca went just before he killed Ipekci, and right after the killing, was the NAP headquarters in Aksaray. Ipekci's murder is another link in the chain of murders committed in Istanbul, like those of Prof Bedri Kafakioglu, Prof Cavit Orhan Tutengil and Prof Umit Doganay.

However, Ipekci's murder is somewhat different from the rest. Ipekci was the administrator of an influential newspaper and through his writings he was undermining the interests of some circles.

There is evidence to prove that Agca was connected with smugglers after he killed Ipekci. These indications and evidence are available today. Omer Mersan, who provided Agca with the fake passport, is an employee of the Vardar Company owned by the Bekir and Selami Gultas brothers who were involved in smuggling with Abuzer Ugurlu. In his second statement, Agca told prosecutor (Martella) in Rome that he had help from Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu. Now this relationship must again be investigated in connection with the Ipekci murder case. Did this relationship exist at the time Ipekci was killed? It is very difficult to sort out this fact from Agca's statements. All files connected with this case must be reexamined. These files must be meticulously compared. What I have done is only to browse through these files.

Agca Abroad

I have already written about how Agca escaped from prison in Istanbul and how he went first to Ankara and then to Nevsehir. At that time Agca had a passport in the name of Hamid Gokenc. Gokenc was one of Oral Celik's militant friends in Malatya. The person who sheltered Agca in Nevsehir was a teacher belonging to the idealists. Gokenc's passport was dated 5 February 1980 with No 248711 and valid for 6 months. The police already knew that Gokenc was a rightwing militant.

In Rome Agca told prosecutor (Martella) that before he arrived in Bulgaria, he escaped to Iran through the help of an Iranian. The Italian security organization (Digos) has established that Timur Selcuk is one of the persons who helped Agca on 27 May 1981. Timur Selcuk is an idealist member from Erzurum. He is in close contact with Muhsin Yazicioglu, the idealist organization leader, who is very good at providing fake passports.

Selcuk Tumor's name is also mentioned in connection with the Muhsin Tzicioglu case being heard at the Ankara court. Yazicioglu paid Selcuk Tumor some money which he obtained from Mehmet Sandir. The aim was to provide a fake passport. And who was Mehmet Sandir? A partner at Musa Serdar Celebi's Tumpas Company. He was also the person who organized all financial relations between the NAP and the idealist groups.

Abdullah Catli was the deputy leader of the Idealist Youth Organization [GUD]. Catli was one of those who provided shelter to Agca after he escaped from prison. Catli's name also appears in the (Digos) report. Other than Agca, Catli met in Europe with Mehmet Sener in Zurich. Catli was detained by the Swiss police but was released later as information was not received in time. Oral Celik disappeared and so has Catli. Do the Turkish police have no information on Catli? They have. In fact they have plenty of information on him. Has the Justice Ministry dealt with this incident? Was Catli's file sent to Switzerland? If this information was forwarded to the Swiss police why was Catli released? And if such information did not reach the Swiss police at all, what was the reason behind this delay? We were eager to find out. However, there was no way to do so.

In his first statement, Agca claimed that he first met with Omer Mersan at the (Vitosa) Hotel in Sofia and that Mersan provided him with a fake passport. In this statement, Agca did not mention the names of Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu. However, in its issue of 6 March 1982, CUMHURIYET's banner headline read as follows: Agca and Bekir Celenk stayed at the Sofia (Vitosa) Hotel at the same time.

In his statement to prosecutor (Martella), Agca mentioned the names of leftwing militants like Sedat Sirri Kadem and Teslim Tore. Our newspaper reported on this subject (on 25 August 1982). However, there was no reaction to it. Later on, Agca's second statement was leaked to the press. Agca admitted knowing Celenk and Ugurlu. Then a new name was involved with the incident, that of (Sergei Ivanov Antonov). The world media's interest was revived and the names CIA and KGB were mentioned.

In his first statement to prosecutor (Martella), Agca--in the same way as during his statements to the Istanbul security--was ambiguous and imaginary. He said: After I disconnected myself from all organizations, I decided to create an incident that would attract world attention and reveal to the public some realities which I believed were the beliefs of millions of people. And I was obliged to shoot the Pope.... I am not a fascist, a religious fanatic or a communist. I have no problems with or enmity against the Pope or the Christian world. This is not probable, since I myself am not very religious.

These statements contradicted opinions by his close friends that Agca was a practicing Muslim. Agca continued in his statement: There is something I would like to say against those who have called me neofascist or fanatic. Such people and organizations have, during their history, led people to murder and disaster.

Agca made these ambiguous statements on purpose and willingly. In this way he mostly misled his friends and close associates. He had only one purpose in mind both in the case of the Ipekci murder and his attempt to kill the Pope: to save the ones or organizations for whom he acted, or at least to provide them with some time. He has been completely successful in doing so in his statements in connection with the Ipekci murder case. How successful he was in the case of his attempt against the Pope is not yet clear.

In his statement to prosecutor (Martella), Agca said: I obtained almost 5 million lira by extorting money from famous and rich people like Halit Narin, Fahrettin Aslan, and Mehmet Inciler (known as Inci Baba).

At this stage there was no talk of Bekir Celenk or Abuzer Ugurlu. The only names of people from whom he received money are Narin, Aslan and Inci Baba.

Agca Concealed His Financial Source

In connection to questions by prosecutor (Martella) on how he got the money he spent during his travels in Europe, Agca first said that he did not want to reveal his sources. This was the same reply he gave to the prosecutor during his questioning in Istanbul.

In his statement, Agca said that he went to Palestine. He mentioned the names of Sirri Kadem and Teslim Tore. He also spoke about organizations like the Turkish Communist Party-Front [TKP-C], Akincilar [Raiders], Halkin Kurtulusu [People's Liberation] and the idealists, and claimed that he also went to Tunis, Spain, Switzerland and France.

The people Agca phoned from Italy have been identified. The Hasan and Behlul brothers he called at (Sarstedt-Hildesheim), in the FRG, were both known as rightwing idealists. On 13 December 1980 Agca left for Tunisia aboard the (Palermo) or (Bocvaccio). Before he left for Tunisia, Agca made a telephone call to No 530489 in Munich. This number is registered in the name of the Selami and Bekir Gultas brothers, who are the Vardar Company. Together with Abuzer Ugurlu, this company was involved in smuggling electronic equipment.

In the letters he sent to me following Agca's attempt on the Pope, Suleyman Necati Topuz, convicted of smuggling in the FRG and a relative of Ugurlu, tried to point to the relationship existing between Abuzer Ugurlu and Omer Mersan. These letters were published in CUMHURIYET but aroused no interest, as people were not interested in that kind of information.

Agca's Weapon

The Browning pistol with serial number "76-C-23053" which Agca used in his attempt against the Pope was immediately seized on the site of the incident. The investigation conducted in connection with the gun used by Agca reveals the following information: The gun was sold on 9 November 1979 to the firm of (Schroeder) in Liege by the makers of the gun: (Fabrique National Herstal) in Belgium. The same gun was sold to the firm of (Grisel Petit Pierre) in Neuchatel. On 9 April 1980 the gun was bought by the (Glaser) firm in Zurich. There is another firm which is involved in the gun and that is (Grillmayer Horst) in (Schernstein). The gun was bought by an engineer, (Tinter Otto).

(Grillmayer) was an old Nazi. This is not our claim. This was found out by the Austrian police. A report on him said that he came from a Nazi family, and was a well-known arms smuggler. Here again we are faced with smugglers. Agca obtained his fake passport from smugglers and his gun as well. Agca obtained the gun from (Grillmayer), a former Nazi Austrian who was an arms smuggler.

A search for the papers of the gun revealed that they were burned, destroyed. The papers connected with 21 guns including the gun used in the attempt against the Pope were destroyed. (Grillmayer) has also disappeared. However, an interesting piece of information has been obtained that (Grillmayer) speaks a little Turkish and has been to Turkey.

It was established that it was Omer Bagci who provided Agca with the gun. Bagci is also known as an idealist member. There are indications that Oral Celik was also involved with the gun.

On 22 February 1982, Mehmet Sener was captured with a fake passport issued for Durmus Unutmaz from the province of Nevsehir. It was this same office in Nevsehir that provided the passport for Omer Bagci. Abdullah Catli's fake passport was also issued from Nevsehir. Agca's fake passport is No 136635, while Omer Ay's passport is No 136636, and Mehmet Sener's is 131065. All these passports were issued from Nevsehir during the same few days. But who on earth provided these fake passports? Who? Who?

The fake passport carrying the name of Faruk Ozgun was taken to Agca in Bulgaria by Abdullah Catli. Was Catli involved with Abuzer Ugurlu? There are some indications to that effect. What is not known is the reason why Catli was released after he was detained in Switzerland.

Here are the concrete realities and facts: smugglers as well as idealist members were involved in the fake passports. Smugglers and idealist members were again involved in the gun used against the Pope.

[10 Jan 83 pp 1 9]

[Text] Ankara--It is us who have written for years that Bulgarian companies are involved in all kinds of smuggling and who have proven this theory through court rulings. The criminal evidence of smuggling incidents in which the Bulgarian Kintex firm was especially involved can be found in files on various smuggling incidents.

Kintex is an official state firm which has its headquarters on Anton Ivanov Avenue in Sofia. Its telephone number is Sofia 662311 and its telex number 471. It was established in 1965. Intercommers which was established in 1971 operates together with Kintex.

The firm that is involved with Turkish smugglers is Kintex. It is this firm with which Abuzer Ugurlu is very familiar. The general board of the criminal panels of the Supreme Court of Appeals had a ruling on the file in connection with the rocket launchers this firm had sent to Turkey. Acting on a tip, the Turkish authorities had seized the Cypriot "Wasoula" vessel in which certain circles had tried to smuggle into Turkey 495 rocket launchers and 10,000 rounds of ammunition for these launchers. This occurred in 1977. Another interesting aspect of this incident was that the captain of the ship was a Greek, that the ship had sailed from Piraeus but that it had gone to Burgas [in Bulgaria] to take delivery of the weapons.

Kintex was involved in other smuggling incidents as well. Information on these can be found in various smuggling files. Everybody knows that not even a coffee cup can pass Bulgaria without the knowledge or permission of that firm. It is impossible that these things are unknown to the Bulgarian police. The truth is that all kinds of smuggling is carried out before the eyes of the Bulgarian police and with its protection.

There cannot be a greater shame for socialism! Can there be a truthful and logical explanation to the fact that narcotics, electronic equipment, cigarette and alcoholic drink smugglers have their headquarters in Bulgaria, or to the fact that Abuzer Ugurlu has a house on "18 Arh Milanov Street, Sofia," or to the fact that night club owner Saban Vezir, well-known smuggler Avni Karadurmus and Iranian Cemsit Sakuyan--of Armenian origin--live in luxury hotels in Bulgaria? There cannot be a greater crime for humanity of socialism!

Are we to describe it as a kind of "new internationalism" that the Bulgarian officials pick all their representatives in Turkey from especially anticommunist politicians and businessmen? What is there in socialist learning that envisages such connections? It is very obvious that there is smuggling going on. For years the relevant documents and proofs have been seen. Why should Abuzer Ugurlu be able to find refuge in Bulgaria? Why should Bekir Celenk go to Sofia whenever he is in trouble? Is there a justifiable explanation for that? No, there is not.

You can read about the opposition of Georgi Dimitrov, the founder of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to individual terrorism in the minutes of the Leipzig trial. The remarks made by Dimitrov, who was tried as a suspect in the burning of the Reichstag in Germany in 1933, against terrorism and terrorist activities must be

the subject for a soul searching for the Bulgarian leaders. It should not be forgotten that the thousands of weapons and millions of [word indistinct] of ammunition that were smuggled into Turkey via Bulgaria were used in terrorist activities in Turkey. Thousands of our people died from these weapons, many progressive people, many patriots like Abdi Ipekci, Bedri Karafakioglu, Professor Tutengil, Professor Doganay, Dr Bedrettin Comert, Dr Necdet Bulut and prosecutor Dogan Oz. The Bulgarian authorities must be ashamed of themselves, ashamed, ashamed!

The Pope and Agca

After Agca shot the Pope the world witnessed a confrontation between the CIA and the KGB. Circles with views that took their source from the CIA tried to spread the view that the KGB tried to kill the Pope for supporting the activities of the independent Solidarity Union in Poland. The fact that Bulgaria had been involved in smuggling incidents to a shameful degree helped strengthen this view. The argument was: "The smuggling in Bulgaria could not have been carried out without the knowledge of the Soviet intelligence organization, KGB. Agca fell into the hands of the KGB in Bulgaria and thus became involved in the Pope affair." That was the American view.

When, in his second statement to the Italian prosecutor (Martella), Agca gave the name of Sergey Ivanov Antonov, the Rome representative of the Bulgarian airlines, all hell broke loose. The American view gained more and more support. An investigation that was started following Agca's second statement unearthed the name of another Bulgarian, that of the Bulgarian press attache secretary, (Vasilyef Kolev). Later another name: (Ayvazof). At this stage, (Martella) was faced with the difficult and responsible job of trying to undo this knot.

What has been proven until now? That the Bulgarians are involved in smuggling. What else? That they work with the Turkish Mafia in that field. Another fact which emerges from studying the smuggling and terrorism files is that the armed rightist sector and the Turkish Mafia are related.

Abdullah Catli

The connections between the armed rightist sector and the Mafia merge in Abdullah Catli. All of Catli's connections must be reassessed. For example, it is said that he used to deal in trade in Istanbul before 1980. What sort of trade? Who gave him money? Who were his aides, his partners? Catli's name is mentioned in connection with the passport that was supplied to Agca. It was again Catli who was captured with Mehmet Sener. It was once more Catli who was captured and then released for an inexplicable reason.

Information about Catli can be found in Ankara, in the files about the NAP and the idealist organizations. In his book "The Confessions of Ali Yurtaslan, the Man From the NAP Center," Ali Yurtaslan--"an idealist who gave up the cause"--says that Catli was connected with Okkes Cokuckun from Kahramanmaraş and with Gabriel Akturk, a Syrian Christian citizen. One of Gabriel Akturk's partners is familiar to our readers: He is Captain Mehmet Ali Cevikel. The "mysterious captain."

stories about the "mysterious captain" are to be found in our previous serial and on pages 160-166 of my book "Arms Smuggling and Terrorism." Captain Cevikel, Gabriel Akturk and Okkes Cokuckun stole a large amount of explosives from a military arsenal in Thrace and hid them in the house of an Armenian in Gedikpasa, Istanbul. We asked at the time whether the police had investigated the identities of the persons who rented that house. The answer was no and is still no. Has a connection been made between the explosives found in that house and the explosives used in the Kahramanmaras incidents? We do not think so. The truths I have determined from the files on the mysterious Captain Cevikel and the confessions of Ali Yurtaslan confirm each other. Even that is a trail to follow, something to go on from.

Abdullah Catli is related to Gabriel Akturk. Another relative of Catli's is Mustafa Verkaya. "Ismail from Of" whose name is in the news in Italy today--his real name is Ismail Haci Suleymanagaoglu--is also from this circle. Mustafa Verkaya is now in jail. The most important witness--or suspect--who knows Catli's connections with arms smugglers is Verkaya.

I have already written about Gabriel Akturk's connections with Captain Vevikel and Catli. Okkes Cokuckun's name also was mentioned in this connection. The family name "Cokuckun" also appears in the files of the Kahramanmaras incidents. The first name of this "Cokuckun" is Ahmet. Some information can be found on Ahmet Cokuckun on page 615 of document No 80/92 dated 8 August 1980. Ahmet Cokuckun, according to this information, is one of the suspects who stored and later transported the explosive materials used in the incidents. According to police information, after he was detained the following weapons were seized in Ahmet Cokuckun's house: 10 U.S. made demolition grenades used by the armed forces, 100 FRG-made detonators and 3 explosive devices with 211 CM of fuse wire.

All the members of the Cokuckun family were investigated in connection with the Kahramanmaras incidents. Mulcun, Ahmet, Bekir, Leman and Ilhami Cokuckun were all prosecuted for involvement in the Kahramanmaras incidents, which made their place in our history as the "Kahramanmaras slaughter." Okkes Cokuckun is also a member of this same family. Ilhami and Okkes Cokuckun have a transportation firm by the name of "Cukur Transports." This firm deals with the transportation of goods. In the mysterious Captain Cevikel's file, suspect Mustafa Acil gives some information about this firm. What kind of goods this firm transported can be found out there.

Let us try to connect all these names that were involved with each other at one time or another: Abdullah Catli, who was the deputy leader of the Idealist Youths Association [UGD], was the person who was involved in providing Agca with the fake passport. Catli is also one of the persons who sheltered Agca after he escaped from jail. Catli was also detained in Switzerland together with Mehmet Sener. There were allegations that Catli was the contact man between the idealist groups and the Mafia. Catli was also involved with Gabriel Akturk, a jeweler.

Gabriel Akturk, Okkes Cokuckun and the mysterious Captain Cevikel are the persons that stole the explosives from a military store and stowed them in an Armenian's house in Istanbul. The same kind of U.S. made explosives used by the armed forces were also found, as a result of a great coincidence, at the house of the Kahramanmara suspects, the Cokuckun family.

All this information has been gathered and put together from tips found in various files that at first seemed to be unconnected. If you glance at these developments as a whole, this might lead you to the source from which the weapons, ammunition and explosives used in the incidents were all provided. If you do so, you might encounter several familiar names. You go after a name like Catli and you come up with unexpected information and connections.

Presently the members of the Cokuckun family are in jail. They can be reinvestigated. The mysterious Captain Cevikel is also in jail. He could be further questioned. The police know the whereabouts of Mustafa Acil and he could also be investigated. If all this is done, then some vital information on Agca's connections both at home and abroad could be revealed. That is what must be done. That is no way to obtain evidence.

Catli, who was first detained in Switzerland and then released, is the most important key person both in the case of the murder of Ipekci and the assassination attempt against the Pope.

[11 Jan 83 pp 1, 11]

[Text] Ankara--To solve the problem of why Agca tried to kill the Pope and who the people were that helped him in this attempt is the task of the Italian judiciary, and first and foremost of prosecutor (Martella). What I have set as my goal is to dispel the fog covering the case of the murder of Ipekci, or rather to help and support the efforts being made in this direction. The Agca case is a problem with many unknowns. One of these unknowns is the Ipekci file. The task facing us, Turks, is to try and clarify that file. What I am trying to do here is to shed some light on the unknown factors in that file.

At first this case could be examined in a narrower framework. That could be done by beginning to examine the connections among Mehmet Sener-Mehmet Ali Agca-Yavuz Caylan trio.

Let us suppose that we do so. Let us then ask: Who were Mehmet Sener's close friends in Cagaloglu? Sener obtained the picture of Ipekci's car and gave it to Agca. Did any of these friends have a place--an office, shop or lawyer's office--near the MILLIYET building where Sener could visit? Was there anyone in such a place who was connected with Sener from Poturge in Malatya where he was born? Has anyone from Poturge ever worked for MILLIYET? If such people exist did they have any relations with Sener? Was it Sener himself who took the picture of Ipekci's car or did someone do that for him?

The incidents in which the address book of Ipekci's secretary was stolen 15 days before Ipekci was killed, and in which Ipekci's car keys were lost, must be taken up once more. Who was the person from Poturge who worked near by? Of course it is not enough that the person be from Poturge only, he must have had a relationship with Sener. Does such a person exist? If he does, did he work for MILLIYET? If he was not employed in MILLIYET was he employed nearby in one of the neighboring buildings?

On the day of the incident Abdi Ipekci returned from a visit to Ankara. Even Hasan Pular, the editor of the newspaper, was not aware that Ipekci was already back from Ankara. Ipekci was scheduled to meet that evening with Ercument Karacan, the former owner of the newspaper. What he planned to do was go home first to pick up his wife and then go and visit Karacan. The time he left the newspaper for this purpose is not his usual time for leaving work.

Hasan Pular, Ipekci's closest associate at that time, made this point in his article of 1 January 1983 in HURRIYET's Incidents and People column entitled: "This File Must be Reopened." Since Agca has admitted to following Ipekci beginning 25 January, he should have thought that Ipekci would leave the newspaper much later.

But things did not develop this way. Agca knew the moment Ipekci left the newspaper, went to Emlakci Street where Ipekci lives and set his trap. This means that one or more people informed Agca--or Oral Celik or Mehmet Sener--that Ipekci left the newspaper for home. If this information was provided by someone who waited outside the newspaper building and watched it all the time, this would have given rise to suspicion.

So, it should be concluded that this fact was reported most probably by someone who would not be suspected. Was there such a person working in MILLIYET or the buildings nearby? Has such a probability already been considered? Was there such a person who knew Mehmet Sener, who had a certain relationship with some politicians, who had met a minister and had talks with that minister now and then, and who worked in MILLIYET or the nearby offices?

Wide Framework

The examination of Ipekci's murder from a narrow framework requires the determination of the relationships between the Sener-Agca-Caylan trio. The problem of Sener's fellow countryman from Poturge working in Cagaloglu where the newspaper is located is an important issue since the person who notified the others the moment Ipekci left the newspaper could be an acquaintance of Sener. Our claim is that this probability should be properly examined. That is our only wish.

Taken from a wide framework, Ipekci's murder must be considered within the context of smuggling incidents. Agca's relationship with a Mafia has now been substantiated. What is still not final is the time at which this relationship was established. Did such a relationship exist before Agca killed Ipekci? Agca's bank accounts, which have not been yet sufficiently investigated, indicate the fact that this relationship might have existed before the killing.

There is another question that must be asked before efforts are made to find out who was the person who established the relationship between Agca and the underworld. From whom did Mehmet Sener acquire the gun with which Ipekci was killed and who gave it to Agca? Who owned the gun before that? If the source of the gun is determined, then a new chain of relationship would be established. Two sources are important. First the source of Agca's bank accounts, and second, the source of the gun used in the Ipekci murder. These two sources might somewhere, somehow be connected and that could lead to the clarification of the Ipekci murder case.

An investigation among Ipekci's close associates in his work and his close relatives could shed some light on the subject of smuggling that apparently the MILLIYET publisher was interested in prior to his killing. Another thing that could thus be verified is the connection with a minister from southeastern Anatolia whose relations with the Mafia Ipekci was dealing with. The identity of this minister and his connections and present situation could be reviewed. Such an examination could open new doors.

In his statement to the Italian prosecutor, (Martella), Agca has mentioned the names of Bekir Celenk and Abuzer Ugurlu. Celenk and Ugurlu's close friends should be investigated. Another subject that could be of interest would be to find out if the two smugglers supported any particular politicians during the elections. If such a thing happened it should be determined who these people were. If there are such senators, deputies and ministers--like Senator Kudret Bayhan, deputy Halit Haraman and minister Tuncay Mataraci--they should be meticulously examined regarding their past relationships as well as their present stand and wealth.

Sale of the Newspaper

Could the matter concerning the selling of the MILLIYET be one of the reasons that led to the killing of Ipekci? This is another question in this murder case with so many unknowns. The person that could be most helpful on this subject could be MILLIYET's former owner Ercument Karacan, who wanted to buy the newspaper prior to the killing of Ipekci? Was a young businessman from Malatya and his contractor friend among them? When did they submit their first proposal for the purchase of MILLIYET? Was bargaining conducted in connection with the sale of the newspaper? If such bargaining was conducted why was the newspaper not sold to them? Has this businessman from Malatya called Karacan on the phone? If he has, what was the conversation about? Why was MILLIYET not sold to that businessman from Malatya? Why has Karacan refused to talk to this businessman after Ipekci was murdered? What was it that the businessman from Malatya wanted to speak about with Karacan? Why has Karacan refused to answer his telephone calls?

Have the connections of this young businessman from Malatya at home and abroad been meticulously examined? Has his secret trip abroad at a certain time been investigated? Yes, that is right, every probability, every past incident must be reexamined even if that probability is very far fetched.

Were there any other parties interested in buying the MILLIYET? Who were the ones getting ready to do so? Was there anyone interested in buying the newspaper in a bid to transform it into a rightwing organ? Here is another question: Was a rightwing businessman who went abroad and imported an offset printing machine for this purpose among those who wanted to buy MILLIYET?

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[Text] Ankara--Can the Ipekci incident be subject to a retrial? If so, how can the legal paths be opened? Can Agca be brought to Turkey? What can be done in the upcoming stages? What are the legal means available? Let us now seek answers to these questions.

The preliminary investigation in connection with Mehmet Sener, who was caught in Zurich, Switzerland, on 22 February 1982, and which was started in Turkey at the time of the murder, can be expanded in light of new developments and evidence. The events prior to and following the Ipekci murder can be handled in detail during the trial that will be started following this investigation, which is currently in its initial stages. As we saw before, this incident has for long surpassed the boundaries of an ordinary murder case. Therefore, it is necessary for the case to be prepared by a large team. The authorities will no doubt assign several most skilled prosecutors to this case. At this stage, the police team that conducted the Ipekci investigation, the military prosecutors who took over the case, the defendants' lawyers as well as the lawyer who is representing Sibel Ipekci at the trial should be heard as witnesses. We believe that these individuals will provide the necessary information to set the case on its principal course and the issues that were unexamined in the previous investigation will thus be completed.

At the new trial, it must be accepted that the third party lawyer [representing Sibel Ipekci] must function as a team and not as an individual. In addition to the fact that this team will be comprised of lawyers, at such a trial concerning its chief editors, MILLIYET can assign its ablest correspondents to work together with the third party lawyer. The lack of such teamwork during the previous investigation was surely a shortcoming, the elimination of this shortcoming at this stage will be very beneficial.

In order to accomplish all this, Mehmet Sener must be brought to Turkey as soon as possible. It is truly impossible to comprehend how Abdullah Catli, who was captured with Mehmet Sener, was released due to "lack of evidence." Is there a procedure that should have been undertaken at the Justice Ministry in connection with this matter? Was the delay caused by the Justice Ministry or by the Foreign Ministry? This must be investigated. If Catli was brought to Turkey together with Sener, several events would have been made clear. With the release of Catli, this possibility is, let us say for now, lost.

In connection with Sener's preliminary investigation, it would be useful to study the file on Agca's escape from prison as well as the file on Agca's hiding in Ankara and his subsequent transfer to Nevsehir. The clues of many connections and ties are in these files. In addition to these files, it would also be useful to study the case file in connection with Ramazan Gurbuz, who was murdered on suspicion of informing Agca. The investigation could benefit further by hearing policeman Halit Keskin, who is currently being detained at the Istanbul Sagmalcilar prison and is believed to possess significant information concerning this subject.

Because of the Pope Incident

The fifth article of the Turkish penal code states that a trial will be started in Turkey in connection with a Turkish citizen who commits a crime abroad, for which the sentence in Turkey is not less than 3 years. However, for this trial to take place, the Turkish citizen, who was convicted by a foreign court, must be in Turkey. Since Agca is currently in a prison in Italy, it is impossible to sentence Agca in Turkey for the attempt on the Pope's life. What can be done under these circumstances?

Under these circumstances, it may be possible to bring Agca to Turkey by trying the legal way known as "the institution of transferring the execution of a sentence" in accordance with article 18 of Law 648 on "the execution of sentences." For this, it is necessary to have an Italian citizen in Turkey convicted to life imprisonment. Only in this way can Agca be exchanged with "an Italian citizen who is serving life sentence in Turkey." However, the condition of having "an Italian citizen's serving a life sentence in Turkey" will not always be necessary in order to secure a transfer of the execution of a sentence. The Italian Government may extradite Agca to Turkey even without this condition.

The European Agreement

"The European agreement on the international value of sentences" enables the execution in Turkey of sentences passed in foreign countries. The transfer of the sentence is done in accordance with the agreement between the two countries. Articles 37-52 of the agreement stipulate how a decision is to be made to enable a Turk sentenced abroad to serve his sentence in Turkey. The Justice Ministry should initiate the procedures on this issue. An agreement can be reached with Italy on "transferring Agca's sentence." Only in this manner can Agca be extradited to Turkey.

These procedures, whose execution seem easy on paper, are in practice quite difficult because the offense was committed against the Pope. They may even be impossible.

Renewing the Trial

The law on criminal procedures envisages various conditions to change prison sentences. In the Agca case, there are certain difficulties to requesting the renewal of the trial. However, it is not impossible to surmount these difficulties, as follows:

1. Article 327 paragraph 5 of the law on criminal procedures which deals with the renewal of trials introduces the following conditions: "If new incidents or new evidence is brought forth, and when taken into account by itself or in addition to previous evidence it supports the suspect's acquittal or his serving a lighter sentence..."

According to this article, both statements made later on the weapon used in the Ipekci case and the doubt that two weapons were used in the incident can be assessed as "in addition to previous evidence."

2. The use of two weapons, instead of one, in the incident creates the possibility of implementing Article 463 of the penal code. In this case, since it is not clear whether the bullet that killed Ipekci was fired by Agca or "the third person," the sentence can be reduced "from one-third to one-half."

3. This conclusion is in favor of Agca. In order to request the renewal of the trial in accordance with paragraph 5 Article 327 of the law on criminal procedures, the possibility of a "lighter sentence" for Agca should appear. The important issue is not whether Agca is sentenced to 20 years, 25 years or to life, but shedding light on the Ipekci murder.

4. The fact that Omer Mersan, who supplied Agca with a forged passport, was employed by the Vardar Company in Munich, the fact that the Vardar Company was in partnership with Abuzer Ugurlu in smuggling cases, and the fact that in his second statement Agca stated that he was aided by Celenk and Ugurlu, can be considered the "new incidents" stated in the article. In light of these new "incidents" one can reach the conclusion that the Ipekci murder was not committed by Agca alone. Suspects' statements on Agca's hiding in Ankara indicate that Oral Celik played a role in the Ipekci incident. These statements--in the manner we saw them earlier--can be described as the "new evidence" stated in the law. According to the conditions stipulated by law, these "incidents" and "evidence" should be "new" in relation to the time when the trial was held.

5. From this angle, statements on Oral Celik can be considered "new evidence." Furthermore, the second statement made by Agca to the Italian public prosecutor, (Martella), can also be considered "new evidence." It is also possible to determine other "new incidents and evidence" in the statement to be brought from the Rome public prosecutor's office. A single "incident" or "evidence" is sufficient to renew a trial.

6. The public prosecutor's office of the Istanbul martial law court, which decided on the Ipekci murder, can submit this application. The legal relations of Agca--for example his brother or sister [kardes] or mother--can also submit such an application. The intervenor has no right to submit such an application.

Even if, at this state, a renewal of the trial is not requested, the investigation in connection with Mehmet Sener will secure the judicial discussion of the same issues, thus leading to the same result. The important question is to determine the relation between Agca and his circle with the various smuggling incidents. We believe that it is infinitely beneficial to investigate the various bank accounts connected with Agca as soon as possible. If speech action is taken on the issue, important clues might be discovered for the preliminary interrogation of Sener. Every minute lost is important.

Conclusion

We have discussed the Ipekci affair with the various trial files, criminal evidence and a chain of imagined and unimagined possibilities. This must have shown that the affair has not been sufficiently clarified by the authorities. It is now imperative for the affair to be investigated anew and with no lost time.

Two important investigations are being conducted in Italy now. One of them is on the shooting of the Pope, something we are all closely familiar with by now. The investigation involves Agca, Bekir Celenk, Abuzer Ugurlu and Bulgarians such as Ivanov Antonov. Rome prosecutor (Martella) is following trails about this incident. The second investigation is the general mafia investigation. In this case Armenian smugglers such as Henry Arslanyan, Samir Arosyn as well as Hasan Nehir, Huseyin Cil, Mustafa Kisacik, Ahmet Sahin, Ismail Haci Suleymanagaoglu also known as "Ismail form Of" and Bekir Celenk are being interrogated. Italian prosecutor Palermo is collecting evidence in connection with this investigation.

Bekir Celenk is a common suspect in both cases. And Agca has said that he was helped both by Abuzer Ugurlu and by Bekir Celenk.

According to Agca's second statement, the Bulgarians were involved in the Pope affair. The Bulgarians' involvement expanded the dimensions of the affair and a worldwide CIA-KGB confrontation began.

The Italian prosecutors will solve the Pope affair. It is an issue that falls under their responsibility.

Our responsibility is with the Ipekci murder. It is quite clear that the Ipekci murder has not been sufficiently clarified. The legal paths to follow after this stage are obvious.

Investigating the matter once again in light of the latest developments, evidence and findings will shed light both on part of the terrorist incidents in Turkey and on the case of the assassination attempt against the Pope in Italy. The duty that befalls us is to clarify the matter as soon as possible.

The first concrete step that should be taken is to bring Mehmet Sener to Turkey as soon as possible, and to interrogate him so that the authorities can resume the preliminary investigation where they left off.

It is our duty to clarify the Ipekci affair. If we fail to do that we will not have the right to speak about fighting international terrorism.

Why was Abdi Ipekci murdered? We do not have a final answer to that yet. However, three persons who were involved in that murder are now in jail: Agca, Sener and Caylan. Some of those who helped Agca escape from prison and then hid him are also imprisoned: Mehmet Kursun, Mustafa Dikici and Hasan Muratpala...and the owner of the car in which Agca was taken to Ankara after being kidnapped from prison is also in Istanbul: Hasan Huseyin Sener. Private Bunyamin Yilmaz, who helped Agca escape from prison, is also in jail.

The file on Vardar, the company owned by Omer Mersan who supplied Agca with a fake passport, is at the Ankara Martial Law 4th Military Court. Suleyman Necati Topuz, who has more information about Omer Mersan, is in prison in the FRG. It is possible to obtain another statement from him as was done through the consular channel in connection with the investigation on former Minister Mataraci.

We hope that in this serial we have displayed all the necessary proofs, all the trials and the connected suspicions and possibilities for reopening the case on the Ipekci murder. We hope that the authorities regard this as a petition and take the necessary action.

With this hope, we respectfully bow to Abdi Ipekci's memory.